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# MEMORIALS AND MONUMENTS

## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED
WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

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ORIGINAL

COMPLETED

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**S. 1107**

A BILL TO AUTHORIZE THE SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION TO ERECT A MEMORIAL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS

**S. 1223**

A BILL TO AUTHORIZE THE ERECTION OF A MEMORIAL ON FEDERAL LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS TO HONOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES WHO SERVED IN THE KOREAN WAR

**S. 1379**

A BILL TO AUTHORIZE THE ERECTION OF A MONUMENT GIVEN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS A GIFT OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO, ON PUBLIC GROUNDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

**S.J. Res. 143**

A RESOLUTION TO AUTHORIZE THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WAR PATRIOTS FOUNDATION TO ESTABLISH A MEMORIAL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AT AN APPROPRIATE SITE IN CONSTITUTION GARDENS

**S.J. Res. 156**

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING A MEMORIAL TO BE ERECTED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS

**S.J. Res. 184**

A RESOLUTION TO AUTHORIZE THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, INC. TO ERECT A MEMORIAL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS

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OCTOBER 29, 1985

Printed for the use of the
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

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I

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# MEMORIALS AND MONUMENTS

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## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1985

U.S. SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION, COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES,

*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:02 a.m., in room SD-366, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Frank H. Murkowski presiding.

Present: Senators Murkowski and Hecht.

Also present: Tony Bevinetto and Patricia Kennedy, professional staff members; and Thomas B. Williams, professional staff member for the minority.

### OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ALASKA

Senator MURKOWSKI. Good morning. The Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water and Resource Conservation will begin its hearing on S. 1107, S. 1223, S. 1379, S.J. Res. 143, S.J. Res. 156, and S.J. Res. 184. We have about 23 witnesses this morning, I'm told, so we will be keeping time. I look forward to hearing the testimony on the authorization and erection of certain memorials on public lands in the District of Columbia.

I want to thank Senator Wallop, the chairman of the subcommittee, for scheduling the hearing. The subcommittee will receive testimony on the bills and the resolutions which I have described. Without objection, I will place a copy of the bills and resolutions in the hearing record.

[The texts of S. 1107, S. 1223, S. 1379, S.J. Res. 143, S.J. Res. 156, and S.J. Res. 184 follow:]

II

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# S. 1107

To authorize the Society of the Third Infantry Division to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 8 (legislative day, APRIL 15), 1985

Mr. NUNN introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

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# A BILL

To authorize the Society of the Third Infantry Division to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Society of the Third Infantry Division is authorized to erect a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs in honor and in commemoration of the men of the "Rock of the Marne" of the Third Infantry Division, United States Army, who have served their country in World War I, World War II, and Korea, and maintaining peace.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to select, with the approval of the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, a suitable site on public grounds in the District of Columbia, or its environs, upon which may be erected the memorial authorized in the first section of this Act: *Provided*, That if the site selected is on public grounds belonging to or under the jurisdiction of the government of the District of Columbia, the approval of the Mayor of the District of Columbia shall also be obtained.

(b) The design and plans for such memorial shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, and the United States or the District of Columbia shall be put to no expense in the erection thereof.

SEC. 3. The authority conferred pursuant to this Act shall lapse unless (1) the erection of such memorial is commenced within five years from the date of enactment of this Act and (2) prior to its commencement funds are certified available in an amount sufficient, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior, to ensure completion of the memorial.

SEC. 4. The maintenance and care of the memorial erected under the provisions of the Act shall be the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior, or, if the memorial is erected upon public grounds belonging to or under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia, the government of the District of Columbia.

○

II

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# S. 1223

To authorize the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean War.

---

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 24 (legislative day, APRIL 15), 1985

Mr. ARMSTRONG (for himself, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. PELL, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. RUDMAN, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. ABDNOR, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. SASSER, and Mr. FORD) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs

JUNE 27 (legislative day, JUNE 26), 1985

Committee discharged; ordered referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

# A BILL

To authorize the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean War.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the "Korean War Veterans Memorial Act of 1985".

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

### SEC. 2. ERECTION OF MEMORIAL.

The American Battle Monuments Commission is authorized to provide for the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean war, particularly those who were killed in action, listed as missing in action, or were held as prisoners of war.

### SEC. 3. MAINTENANCE OF MEMORIAL.

Upon completion of the memorial, it shall be turned over from the American Battle Monuments Commission to the Department of the Interior. Maintenance of said memorial shall then be the sole responsibility of the Department of the Interior.

### SEC. 4. APPROVAL OF SITE SELECTION, DESIGN, AND CONSTRUCTION PLAN.

Selection of a site for, design of, and plans for the construction of such memorial shall be subject to the approval of the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission.

### SEC. 5. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for any fiscal year beginning on or after October 1, 1985, such funds as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

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II

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# S. 1379

To authorize the erection of a monument given to the American people as a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco, on public grounds in the District of Columbia.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 27 (legislative day, JUNE 26), 1985

Mr. MCCLURE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

# A BILL

To authorize the erection of a monument given to the American people as a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco, on public grounds in the District of Columbia.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Secretary of the Interior shall select an appropriate site for the location of a monument, including foundation therefor, a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco in recognition of the solid friendship spanning two centuries which exists between the people of Morocco and the people of the United States. Such monument shall be erected on grounds now owned by the United States of America in the District of Columbia if: (1) the choice of the site and the design of the monument is approved by the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, and (2) the erection of the monument is begun within five years after the date of the enactment of this Act. The erection of the monument and proper landscape treatment of the site, including walks, shall be without expense to the United States of America, except for necessary maintenance after completion.

○

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# S. J. RES. 143

To authorize the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia at an appropriate site in Constitution Gardens.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 24 (legislative day, APRIL 15), 1985

Mr. GORE introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs

JUNE 27 (legislative day, JUNE 26), 1985

Committee discharged; ordered referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

# JOINT RESOLUTION

To authorize the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia at an appropriate site in Constitution Gardens.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

## SECTION 1. ESTABLISHMENT AND DESIGN.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation is authorized to establish a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia at an appropriate site in Constitution Gardens to honor the more than 5,000 courageous slaves and free black persons who gave of themselves during the American Revolution.

(b) DESIGN.—The Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation shall be responsible for the preparation of the design and plans for the memorial. Such design and plans shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission. If the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts, or the National Capital Planning Commission fails to approve or fails to specifically object to such design and plans within 90 days after their submission, the approval of the Secretary, the Commission of Fine Arts, or the National Capital Planning Commission, as the case may be, shall be deemed to be given.

**SEC. 2. CONSTRUCTION.**

The Secretary of the Interior shall, with the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, select a suitable site in Constitution Gardens for the memorial which is easily visible to visitors to Constitution Gardens. Construction may not begin until the Secretary determines that sufficient funds are available to insure completion of the memorial in accordance with the approved design and plans.

**SEC. 3. MAINTENANCE.**

The Secretary of the Interior shall be responsible for the maintenance and care of the memorial established under this resolution.

**SEC. 4. RESTRICTION ON FEDERAL FUNDS.**

The United States shall not pay any expense of the establishment of the memorial.

**SEC. 5. EXPIRATION OF AUTHORITY.**

The authority to establish the memorial under section 1 shall expire at the end of the 5-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act unless construction of the memorial begins during that period.

○

II

99th CONGRESS
1st Session

# S. J. RES. 156

Authorizing a memorial to be erected in the District of Columbia or its environs.

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

July 10 (legislative day, July 8), 1985

Mr. Murkowski (for himself, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Specter, Mr. Boschwitz, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. DeConcini, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Abdnor, Mrs. Hawkins, Mr. Chafee, Mr. Cohen, Mr. D'Amato, Mr. Evans, Mr. Garn, Mr. Gramm, Mr. Laxalt, Mr. Lugar, Mr. Nickles, Mr. Packwood, Mr. Symms, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bradley, Mr. Bumpers, Mr. Chiles, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Ford, Mr. Gore, Mr. Hart, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Lautenberg, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Levin, Mr. Metzenbaum, Mr. Moynihan, Mr. Pell, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Sasser, Mr. Simon, Mr. Hecht, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Hollings, Mr. Denton, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Dole, Mr. Boren, Mr. Pressler, Mr. Cochran, Mr. Warner, Mr. Mattingly, Mr. Quayle, and Mr. Durenberger) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs

October 22 (legislative day, October 21), 1985

Committee discharged; ordered referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

# JOINT RESOLUTION

Authorizing a memorial to be erected in the District of Columbia or its environs.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That (a) there is authorized to be erected on Federal Government land in the District of Columbia or its environs, by any organization or organizations approved by the Secretary of the Interior, a memorial to honor women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

(b) The design and plans for the memorial shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission.

(c) Construction of the memorial may not begin unless the Secretary of the Interior determines that funds are available in an amount sufficient to ensure completion of the memorial in accordance with the approved design and plans.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior—

(1) with the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, shall select a site for any memorial authorized to be erected under the first section; and

(2) shall be responsible for the maintenance and care of the memorial after completion of construction.

SEC. 3. The United States shall not incur any expense in connection with designing, planning, or erecting the memorial authorized by the first section except expenses required to carry out the responsibilities set out in such section and section 2.

SEC. 4. The authority to erect a memorial under this joint resolution shall expire at the end of the five-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this joint resolution unless construction of the memorial begins during that period.

○

II

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# S. J. RES. 184

To authorize the Korean War Memorial, Inc. to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 31 (legislative day, July 16), 1985

Mr. DENTON introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

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# JOINT RESOLUTION

To authorize the Korean War Memorial, Inc. to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Korean War Memorial, Inc. is authorized to erect a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs, subject to authorization by the Secretary of the Interior as provided in section 2 to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean War, particularly those who were killed in action, listed as missing in action, or held as prisoners of war.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to select, with the approval of the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, a suitable site on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs, upon which may be erected the memorial authorized in the first section of this resolution.

(b) The design and plans for such memorial shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the National Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the American Battle Monuments Commission.

(c) Except for the land authorized for the erection of the memorial in the first section, no funds may be expended, obligations incurred, or property given by the United States, the District of Columbia, or any State or local government for the erection of the memorial.

SEC. 3. The authority conferred pursuant to this resolution shall lapse unless—

(1) the erection of such memorial is commenced within five years from the date of enactment of this resolution; and

(2) prior to the erection of the memorial, funds are certified available in an amount sufficient in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior to insure completion of the memorial.

SEC. 4. The maintenance and care of the memorial and grounds shall be the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior.

○

**Senator MURKOWSKI.** Specifically S. 1107 is to authorize the Society of the Third Infantry Division to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs; S. 1223 is to authorize the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States in the Korean War; S. 1379 is to authorize the erection of a monument given to the American people as a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco on public grounds in the District of Columbia; S.J. Res. 143 is to authorize the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia at an appropriate site in Constitution Gardens; S.J. Res. 156 is to authorize a memorial to be erected in the District of Columbia or its environs; and S.J. Res. 184 is to authorize the Korean War Memorial, Inc. to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

To allow all witnesses to testify in the limited time of the hearing, I would ask that the oral testimony be limited to 3 minutes. Your full written statement will be included in the hearing record. The record will remain open for 2 weeks after today for the submission of the testimony.

With the exception of S. 1379, which authorizes the erection of a monument given to the American people as a gift from the Kingdom of Morocco, the bills we will consider today all pay tribute to patriotic Americans who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

The intent of these resolutions and bills is to provide proper recognition to those Americans who rendered honorable and faithful service to their country. I believe the memorials are a fitting tribute to the personal sacrifices and contributions made in the course of that service. As beacons of history, they symbolize to all generations that duty to one's country is timeless, and as beacons do, they encourage us to seek safe and peaceful passage to the future.

I believe most of you here today share this belief and, like me, want to see this ideal kept alive. However, the realities of a limited budget and limited availability of land often force us to make difficult decisions when choosing which monument to build, which cause to honor.

The bottom line directs us to create monuments that collectively embrace the contribution of the largest number of Americans.

S.J. Res. 156, the measure which I introduded as chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee, would honor all women who, with great dedication and sacrifice, served in the Armed Forces of the United States. There are over 1,150,000 women veterans. They account for more than 4 percent of all living American veterans. These numbers do not account for the women who served from the Revolutionary War onward or for the ancestors, families, and friends of all women veterans whose lives have been touched by their unforgettable experiences.

A resolution such as this would serve a large number of Americans. In addition, the funding of this memorial would come from private sources. The land in the District of Columbia would be provided by the Federal Government. Hence, the Government and the private sector would be working together to create a longstanding symbol of patriotism.

The other resolutions I'll briefly comment on. For similar reasons, we also support the erection of a memorial to the almost 6 million Americans who served in the Korean war. No sacrifice is greater than this, no contribution more honorable than service to one's country during war or other armed conflict.

I've been assured that more than enough private sector interest exists to aid the Government in the establishment of this memorial.

America's black patriots of our Revolution do not enjoy the obvious praise we so readily apply to other groups of soldier citizens, principally because the written history of their contributions is overwhelmed by the general literature. Individual names like Crispus Attucks, shot down by the British 6 years before the Declaration of Independence, only begin a long and heroic list of black Americans who have defended democracy at great personal risk and ultimate sacrifice.

To those who might criticize a memorial to 5,000 citizens whose records in history have faded and yellowed with time, let me remind them that four soldiers without names rest in Arlington National Cemetery. Their message to Americans and the free world is clear: The spirit of freedom knows no color, no race, no creed; it does not require a specific number of sacrifices; it does not keep count of who fights. America's black freedom fighters are as much a part of our heritage as the Unknown Soldiers—they, through their descendants, are as much a part of America as any one of us here today. I think it is fitting that we acknowledge the beginning of that chain of citizenship through this memorial.

As I am sure you are all aware, the present Congress is faced with the difficult choice on the deficit and the economic realities. It is an ever-increasing challenge to work within the fiscal restraints. As legislators, it is our duty to promote passage of legislation that demonstrates prudent fiscal responsibility and reaches the largest number of Americans.

To underline this commitment, I urge my colleagues to join with me in a truly bipartisan spirit to allow the interested groups and organizations to join with us to honor these Americans and to keep our patriotism alive.

Mr. Bevinetto, it's my understanding that these proposed memorials are to be funded with voluntary contributions. Is there any exception to that?

[Pause.]

Senator MURKOWSKI. The answer to that, in case you didn't hear it, is there is one exception but that's going to be addressed at the hearing.

Thank you very much.

What we'll do is call all the congressional members, Members of the Senate and the House who are here. We have Senator Armstrong, a U.S. Senator from Colorado. I would welcome you to the witness stand. The Honorable Jeremiah Denton, a Senator from Alabama is with us. Nancy L. Johnson of the House, Connecticut Sixth District, we welcome you. The Honorable Stanford E. Parris, State of Virginia, U.S. House; and the Honorable James F. Florio of the House, State of New Jersey.

Lady and gentlemen, we look forward to your opening statement and you may proceed. Let's hear from the lady.

### STATEMENT OF HON. NANCY L. JOHNSON, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm delighted to be a part of this hearing today, and want to commend you for calling attention to the issues that you have elaborated for all of us, and appreciate the attention that you and your committee are going to give to the important memorials proposed by all of us here today.

I come before the committee on behalf of S.J. Res. 143. This resolution would authorize the Black Patriots of 1776, a charitable organization, to be organized and incorporated in the District of Columbia to construct the memorial on Federal land in Constitution Gardens to the blacks who served in the American Revolution and who were so much a part of winning this Nation's freedom.

Design and actual site plans, of course, must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the National Capital Planning Commission and the Fine Arts Commission. The authorization will lapse if construction of the memorial is not begun within a 5-year period. The memorial would be built entirely with funds raised from private sources.

Mr. Chairman, in a city of countless memorials and endless lines of tourists searching for reminders of the contributions to America's past by a diverse population, there is but one memorial in this Nation's capital to a black person, Mary McCleod Bethune. There are several memorials to other Americans and foreign individuals, many of which honor contributions to the Revolution. But it is appropriate that we rectify this imbalance by giving the same kind of recognition to the black heroes that were so much a part of winning our independence as we have given to so many others that fought in that great effort.

When the army that would set America free was organized, free black soldiers of Boston protested successfully General Washington's decision to exclude them from service. Two years after this event, it became the official policy of the Government to not only accept free black applicants, but to actively solicit black slaves as the war effort sagged.

While serving as soldiers and seamen, blacks were wounded and disabled, killed and captured by the enemy, just as their white counterparts. Slaves exchanged military service for their freedom, and free blacks served in the hopes of winning political liberty enjoyed by the whites.

They served in all the major battles—Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, Savannah, Yorktown. They were encamped at Valley Forge. And two blacks, Prince Whipple and Oliver Cromwell, were in the same boat with Washington when he crossed the Delaware. A Hessian officer remarked that—and I quote: "No regiment is to be seen in which there are not Negroes in abundance, and among them are able-bodied, strong, and brave fellows."

America's soul, a palette of many colors, races, and religions was already formed when the Revolution came. Yet, she has denied her multiracial heritage for decades, to her detriment. Thanks to black historians like Dr. Benjamin Quarles, William Nell, and John Hope Franklin, we have recaptured that history and now have the opportunity to embrace it. But we cannot be restrained. We must be resonant—so resonant that our message echoes across the canyons of history and enters the minds of future generations.

Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure indeed to join with my colleague from New York, Mr. Rangel who could not be here this morning, in urging this committee's favorable approval of this resolution which would enable us to enjoy in a permanent place in Constitution Gardens, a monument to the contribution that our black forefathers made to our free Nation so dedicated to liberty and opportunity for all.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Johnson follows:]

NANCY L. JOHNSON
[illegible]

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TESTIMONY OF THE

HONORABLE NANCY L. JOHNSON

BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES,

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS AND RESERVED WATER

ON OCTOBER 29, 1985

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MISTER CHAIRMAN:

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE A PART OF THIS HEARING TODAY AND WANT TO COMMEND YOU FOR DIRECTING THE YOUR ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL TO BLACK PATRIOTS. ALONG WITH MY COLLEAGUE, THE DISTINGUISHED GENTLEMAN FROM NEW YORK, REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES RANGEL, I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS OUR RESOLUTION WITH YOU AND TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR HONORING THE MEMORY OF THE MORE THAN 5,000 BLACKS WHO SERVED IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY AND VARIOUS STATE MILITIAS AND THE MANY MORE MEN AND WOMEN WHO SOUGHT FREEDOM BY FILING PETITIONS AND RUNNING AWAY FROM SLAVERY. THERE IS NO MORE FITTING WAY TO COMMEMORATE THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLACKS TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE THAN THE PASSAGE OF H.J. AND S. RES. 142 WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL IN THEIR HONOR AND TRIGGER A NATIONWIDE EFFORT TO RAISE PRIVATE FUNDS TO ACCOMPLISH THAT PURPOSE.

THE RESOLUTION WOULD AUTHORIZE THE BLACK PATRIOTS OF 1776, A CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION, TO BE ORGANIZED AND INCORPORATED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO CONSTRUCT THE MEMORIAL ON FEDERAL LAND IN CONSTITUTION GARDENS. DESIGN AND ACTUAL SITE PLANS MUST BE APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSSION AND THE FINE ARTS COMMISSION. THE AUTHORIZATION WILL LAPSE IF CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEMORIAL IS NOT BEGUN WITHIN A FIVE YEAR PERIOD. THE MEMORIAL WILL BE BUILT ENTIRELY WITH FUNDS RAISED FROM PRIVATE SOURCES.

IN A CITY OF COUNTLESS MEMORIALS AND ENDLESS LINES OF TOURISTS SEARCHING FOR REMINDERS OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA'S PAST BY A DIVERSE POPULATION, THERE IS BUT ONE MEMORIAL IN THE NATION'S

CAPITAL TO A BLACK PERSON, MARY McCLOUD BETHUNE. THERE ARE SEVERAL MEMORIALS TO OTHER AMERICAN AND FOREIGN INDIVIDUALS, MANY OF WHICH HONOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REVOLUTION. IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT WE RECTIFY THIS IMBALANCE BY GIVING THE SAME KIND OF RECOGNITION TO THESE BLACK HEROES AS WE HAVE GIVEN TO THE MANY OTHER DESERVING PATRIOTS WHO HELPED WIN OUR INDEPENDENCE.

THE HISTORY OF BLACKS IN AMERICA- A LONG AND NOBLE STRUGGLE- REMAINS LARGELY AN ESOTERIC SUBJECT. FEW AMERICANS ARE FULLY AWARE OF EVEN THE RUDIMENTS OF THE HISTORIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLACKS TO THE BIRTH OF AMERICA OR RECOGNIZE THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK FREEDOM WAS IN ESSENCE A CONTINUATION OF THE REVOLUTION AND THAT THIS ACTIVITY HELPED TO SHAPE THE CONSTITUTION.

BEFORE AMERICA DECLARED INDEPENDENCE AND BEFORE THE FIRE OF FREEDOM BEGAN TO RAGE ACROSS THE LAND, THERE WERE BLACKS IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY. WHEN THE ARMY THAT WOULD SET AMERICA FREE WAS ORGANIZED, FREE BLACK SOLDIERS OF BOSTON PROTESTED SUCCESSFULLY GENERAL WASHINGTON'S DECISION TO EXCLUDE THEM FROM SERVICE. TWO YEARS AFTER THIS EVENT, IT BECAME THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO NOT ONLY ACCEPT FREE BLACK APPLICANTS, BUT TO ACTIVELY SOLICIT BLACK SLAVES AS THE WAR EFFORT SAGGED.

WHILE SERVING AS SOLDIERS AND SEAMEN, BLACKS WERE WOUNDED AND DISABLED, KILLED AND CAPTURED BY THE ENEMY, JUST AS THEIR WHITE COUNTERPARTS. SLAVES EXCHANGED MILITARY SERVICE FOR THEIR FREEDOM, AND FREE BLACKS SERVED IN THE HOPES OF WINNING POLITICAL LIBERTY, LIKE THAT ENJOYED BY WHITES. THEY SERVED IN ALL THE MAJOR BATTLES, INCLUDING LEXINGTON AND CONCORD, TICONDEROGA, MONMOUTH, SAVANNAH, AND YORKTOWN. THEY WERE ENCAMPED AT VALLEY FORGE AND TWO BLACKS, PRINCE WHIPPLE AND OLIVER CROMWELL, WERE IN THE SAME BOAT WITH WASHINGTON WHEN HE CROSSED THE DELAWARE. A HESSIAN OFFICER REMARKED THAT "NO REGIMENT IS TO BE SEEN IN WHICH THERE ARE NOT NEGROES IN ABUNDANCE; AND AMONG THEM ARE ABLE-BODIED, STRONG AND BRAVE FELLOWS"

MANY BLACKS DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN BATTLE; AFTER THE WAR SOME WERE REWARDED FOR THEIR HEROISM. AUSTIN DABNEY OF GEORGIA WAS AWARDED 112 ACRES IN RECOGNITION FOR "BRAVERY AND FORTITUDE IN SEVERAL ENGAGEMENTS". SALEM POOR WAS OFFICIALLY COMMENDED FOR HIS SERVICES AT BUNKER HILL.

AMERICA'S SOUL, A PALETTE OF MANY COLORS, RACES AND RELIGIONS, WAS ALREADY FORMED WHEN THE REVOLUTION CAME, YET SHE HAS DENIED HER MUTIRACIAL HERITAGE FOR DECADES TO HER DETRIMENT. THANKS TO BLACK HISTORIANS LIKE DR. BENJAMIN QUARLES, WILLIAM C. NELL AND JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, WE HAVE RECAPTURED THAT HISTORY AND NOW HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EMBRACE IT. BUT WE CANNOT BE RESTRAINED, WE MUST BE RESONANT. SO RESONANT THAT OUR MESSSAGE ECHOES ACROSS THE CANYONS OF HISTORY AND ENTERS THE MINDS OF GENERATIONS UNBORN.

AMERICA'S GREATEST GIFT TO THE WORLD IS HER SUCCESS AT BRINGING DIVERSE RACES AND NATIONALITIES TOGETHER TO SHARE EQUALLY IN THE BENEFITS OF SOCIETY. IT IS AN ACCOMPLISHMENT LARGELY SHAPED BY THE UNRELENTING STRUGGLE OF BLACK AMERICANS TO ATTAIN THE PROMISE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION. THERE IS MUCH WE NEED TO DO BEFORE WE APPROACH PERFECTION BUT THE EXAMPLE IS A STERLING ONE THAT SHOULD NOT BE LOST IN THOSE PARTS OF THE WORLD WHERE BLACKS AND WHITES ARE STRUGGLING TO LIVE TOGETHER IN EQUALITY

AND HARMONY.

THIS MEMORIAL WILL FREEZE IN TIME A MESSAGE THAT I BELIEVE THE NATION'S BLACK FOREFATHERS WOULD HAVE WANTED TO LEAVE TO THEIR BLACK AND WHITE COUNTRYMEN OF FUTURE GENERATIONS: "FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE ARE WORTH FIGHTING AND DIEING FOR. WE SERVED SO THAT YOU WOULD SOMEDAY BE ABLE TO LIVE TOGETHER IN HARMONY. AMERICA IS YOUR LEGACY. LOVE HER."

I WOULD LIKE TO END MY STATEMENT BY SALUTING THE CHAIR FOR BRINGING THIS MATTER TO PUBLIC ATTENTION TODAY. ALONG WITH REPRESENTATIVE RANGEL I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON ANY FUTURE CONSIDERATION OF THIS RESOLUTION.

THANK YOU.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much, Mrs. Johnson.

We have Senator Chic Hecht with us, a member of the committee from Nevada, who has a short opening statement.

Senator Hecht.

## STATEMENT OF HON. CHIC HECHT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

Senator **Hecht**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm just happy to be here today and applaud your work on the Korean War Veterans Memorial, having been a veteran of this war myself. And while I'm up here, thinking that 35 years ago we were worried about Korea and the Communist invasion, and 35 years later we still have that problem. And I think, although we are honoring the veterans of the Korean war, we must also look to the future and tell communism, anytime you move like you did 35 years ago, American forces will always be on the alert.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much, Senator.

I would defer to the time constraints on my colleagues. Since we've heard from a Member of the House, it would be appropriate to hear from a Member of the Senate, the upper body, and I would defer to either of you.

They're most polite in deferring to one another. It's customary around here.

Senator Armstrong.

## STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Senator **Armstrong**. Mr. Chairman, I can be very brief. I would like to submit my statement for the record.

Senator **Murkowski**. Your entire statement will be entered in the record.

Senator **Armstrong**. I am really grateful to you and the other members of the subcomittee for their interest in this legislation.

Thirty-five years ago, American solidiers went to Korea to fight for freedom but, as yet, this country has not erected an appropriate memorial to honor their courage and valor and sacrifice.

When, in June 1950, President Truman sent Americans there to fight, most people in our country had little or no knowledge of the peninsula of Korea. But within several years, some 5.7 million Americans went to Korea, put their lives on the line at an incredible cost. More than 54,000 Americans gave their lives and 100,000 were wounded.

History books call Korea a police action, but in truth, as Senator Hecht has pointed out, it was war, a bloody war, one of enormous destruction and lasting historical significance. And yet, when the war was over and our fighting men and women came home, there were no ticker tape parades; there was no celebration; there was nothing really in the way of a national time of recognition of the valor and sacrifice of these Americans.

Therefore, it seems to me and, I believe, to all of us here today, that an appropriate memorial is long overdue. In May, I introduced legislation which authorizes the construction of a Korean War

Memorial here in our Nation's Capital. Specifically, S. 1223 authorizes the American Battle Monuments Commission within the Department of Defense to undertake the planning and building of such a memorial.

While this legislation provides for Federal funding, Mr. Chairman, the ABMC is also authorized to accept contributions from those private sector groups who may wish to donate to a Korean War Memorial. In addition, the ABMC safeguards these contributions by holding them in trust until the time a memorial is constructed.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I judge that the task of constructing a memorial is not in itself controversial, and so far as I know there's really only one issue of possible disagreement, and that's whether or not there ought to be only private funding or whether or not there ought to be at least the possibility of Federal funding, as my legislation suggests.

Some people think only a private organization should be involved, and that, of course, is very attractive to me, but I want to point out that the cost of such fundraising can really end up being higher than if we just do it in the more straightforward and conventional manner. For example, the organization which built the Vietnam Memorial raised more than $10 million, of which $6 million went for direct mail, administrative expense, and related costs. The total cost of the memorial itself was $3.5 million. And following the completion of the memorial, the IRS indicated that the cost to the Government was almost exactly the same as the cost of the memorial; that is, $3.5 million was lost in revenues as the result of tax deductions.

So, at least in my opinion, the issue is really not one of cost to the Government. It's a question of what's the most proper and expeditious way to go forward. And I believe that the Battle Monuments Commission has the proven capacity and the stature to take this task forward in the proper manner.

I believe that most Senators will agree with this. Since I introduced this legislaton 56 Senators have joined me in recognizing the contribution of Korean veterans and in sponsoring S. 1223.

Members of the public have responded warmly and many organizations such as the VFW have urged the adoption of this legislation.

So, Mr. Chairman, with that brief word of explanation, let me just sum up again by thanking you and the members of the committee for your interest, and urging that after a hearing has been held and everybody's had a chance to have their say, that the committee mark up a bill and send it to us on the floor for what I expect would be speedy passage.

[The prepared statement of Senator Armstrong follows:]

### Korean War Veterans Memorial
### Hearing before the Public Lands Subcommittee
### by Senator William L. Armstrong

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful that this Subcommittee has agreed to hold this hearing today on an issue whose consideration by Congress is long overdue. Thirty-five years ago, American soldiers were sent to Korea to fight for freedom, yet this country has yet to honor those men and women with an appropriate memorial to their courage, their valor and their sacrifices.

In June 1950, waves of communist soldiers from North Korea poured over the 38th parallel for the sole purpose of subjugating the people of the South. Until that time, most Americans had little knowledge of that Asian peninsula. However when President Truman, honoring our commitment to democratic principles, authorized combat support by U.S. troops, some 5.7 million Americans went to Korea and put their lives on the line.

Eventually, sixteen countries under the banner of the United Nations joined in the battle for freedom. And after three bitter years, the communists were forced out of South Korea. The cost was high. More than 54,000 Americans gave their lives, and 100,000 more were wounded.

The valor of these soldiers should be noted. During the Korean War, the United States awarded 131 Medals of Honor. One example of the courage of our troops is that of Hospital Corpsman 3rd Class William Charette. During a fierce encounter, Corpsman Charette repeatedly and unhesitatingly assisted his wounded comrades under hostile enemy fire. At one point, he threw himself over one of the wounded when a grenade landed at their feet, absorbing the full shock of the explosion with his body. Suffering from wounds and shock, he continued to gallantly administer medical aid throughout the battle, at one point even giving his battle jacket to another wounded soldier, exposing himself to even more danger. Gallantry such as that exhibited by Corpsman

Charette and many of his comrades has gone unnoticed because of the special circumstances surrounding our involvement in Korea.

At the time and in our history books, Korea is known as a "police action". But in truth, it was a war -- a bloody war against a determined enemy. Yet when it was over, there were no victory celebrations or tickertape parades. And today, no memorial exists in the United States honoring those heroes who fought for freedom in Korea. Truly these men and women are our forgotten warriors, and I believe it is time to correct that wrong.

In May, I introduced legislation which authorizes the construction of a Korean War Veterans Memorial here in our Nation's Capital. Specifically, S.1223 authorizes the American Battle Monuments Commission within the Department of Defense to undertake the planning and building of a memorial. While this legislation provides for federal funding, the ABMC is able to accept contributions from those wishing to donate to a Korean War Memorial. In addition, the ABMC safeguards these contributions by holding them in trust until a time when a memorial is built.

Some have suggested that a private organization should be authorized to collect funds for a memorial. While the idea of privately organized fundraising is attractive, the costs can be high. The organization that built the Vietnam Memorial raised more than $10 million of which some $6 million went for direct mail, administrative expense, and related costs. The total cost of the memorial itself was only $3.5 million. After the memorial was completed, the IRS estimated that it lost approximately $3.5 million - the entire cost of the memorial - in reported tax deductions.

Because so much time has passed since the Korean War, and because private efforts at fundraising for a Korean War Memorial have been surrounded by controversy, I believe that the most sure and efficient way to build a memorial is through the proven capacity of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Many of my colleagues agree. Since introducing this legislation, 54 Senators have joined me in recognizing the contribution of our Korean veterans. More than 170 Members of the House of Representatives led by Rep. Stan Parris have cosponsored companion legislation.

The public has been no less supportive. The Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) urged adoption of this legislation from the very beginning. I have received letters and phone calls from Korean veterans and their families around the country expressing support for a memorial, as well as from the Embassy of the Republic of Korea and several Korean-American groups. They haven't forgotten the contributions of those who served in Korea -- and neither should we.

While more than three decades have passed since the Korean War, it is not too late to honor those who served. Many of you will recall the controversy surrounding the construction of the memorial to our Vietnam veterans. However, since its completion, that memorial has become a tremendous symbol of unity. I believe symbols are important in the life of our country, and our Korean War veterans symbolize the best that this country has to offer - its spirit, its commitment to freedom, and its leadership in the Free World.

America has been blessed with many heroes. I am proud to be part of the effort to recognize those heroes who served the cause of freedom in Korea and especially those who were killed in action, listed as missing in action, or were held as prisoners of war. No sacrifice is greater, and none is more deserving of our recognition and our most deeply felt thanks.

Senator Murkowski. Thank you very much, Senator Armstrong. Do you have any idea of what collectively the funds that have been contributed might approach currently?

Senator Armstrong. I don't have any notion of that at all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Murkowski. That's being held, you said?

Senator Armstrong. Well, the legislation provides that funds which might be contributed by the public would be held in trust for the construction of the monument. My thought, and I believe maybe the thinking of others who will testify is that this is a completely proper public expenditure, and yet we should permit private individuals and organizations to participate in it if they wish to do so; but that the funding and the operation of it, the design and really the overall stewardship should be with the Battle Monuments Commission.

Senator Murkowski. I would certainly concur. And as chairman of the Veterans Committee, the idea of establishing a memorial, a living memorial for the Korean conflict is obviously one of the highest priorities that we have among some of the unfinished business that our country has an obligation towards.

So, I certainly commend you and understand, then, that your intent as the author of the legislation is to willingly accept whatever may come in from private sources and working with whatever design is ultimately chosen, to offset whatever would be the requirement that the Federal Government underwrite the balance.

Senator Armstrong. Of course.

Senator Murkowski. Thank you very much, Senator.

Again, I would defer to whomever may be on a tight time schedule.

Congressman Florio.

## STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES J. FLORIO, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Florio. Thank you very much, Senator, and I'll be very brief. The Senator touched on many of the points that I wanted to touch on that are included in my formal remarks, which I trust you'll put into the record.

Let me just say that I, along with Veterans Chairman Sonny Montgomery and the ranking minority member, Mr. Hammerschmidt, have introduced comparable legislation to the Senator's bill, S. 1223, as has Congressman Parris. The legislation is very, very similar and I think that's a testimony to the bipartisan nature of the support for this.

I suppose the only point that I would like to highlight is the point that the Senator made—the desirability of providing for an authorization for public funding and to allow private contributions to be used to offset those public appropriations, so as to deal with the two major concerns that many of us have. One is the delay that may occur if we are to rely exclusively on private contributions. Second, to remove any hint of—not scandal—but any hint of difficulty in terms of private organizations out raising money with a disproportionate amount of the money being used for administrative expenses.

And then the point the Senator made about the fact that there will probably be no difference in terms of the public contribution, whether it be private or public, because the contributions to private endeavors will be tax exempt themselves. And the experience with the Vietnam Memorial was that it cost the Federal Government as much to have a private contribution system as it would have if we had come up front with the dollars in terms of providing for the authorization.

I have no doubts whatsoever—and our bill initially provided for an authorization of $5 million—I have no doubts whatsoever that the various veterans organizations and private groups will be able to raise that amount of money, reimburse the American Battle Monuments Commission for that money, and it will provide for no expense at the bottom line to the Federal Treasury. But we will have the advantage of being able to go forward quickly, and that the Federal Government will be reimbursed by the various private initiatives that have been launched already.

The money, even with a little publicity and no Federal authorization in terms of legislation, money has already started to come in. So, I think that, on balance, this approach that we are suggesting should be followed and that I would hope that Senator Armstrong's bill would be provided with an authorization for dollars. The $5 million figure, I think, is an appropriate one that the House has included.

The House is prepared to deal with this subject next Monday. The bill that has been introduced by myself and other Members of the Congress is scheduled for House consideration and I would hope that expeditious consideration by the Senate of the Senator's bill would be undertaken so that this matter could be put to rest in terms of the Congress having definitely stated that this is something that should be done, and we can get about moving on this long overdue proposal.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Florio follows:]

# TESTIMONY OF CONGRESSMAN JAMES J. FLORIO

BEFORE

THE SENATE ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER
AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

September 29, 1985

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to appear before the subcommittee this morning. I am happy to see that the bill introduced by Senator Armstrong, S. 1223, which would allow for the erection of a Korean War Memorial, is receiving attention. I am grateful for the invitation to testify here this morning.

Last spring, Chairman Montgomery and Congressman Hammerschmidt joined with me as the two original cosponsors of H.R. 2205, the Korean War Memorial Act. That bill received a favorable response from our colleagues in the House of Representatives with a total of 145 ultimately joining us as cosponsors. The bill was also well received at a hearing of the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials chaired by our distinguished colleague from Ohio, Representative Mary Rose Oakar.

Mr. Chairman, the litany of the Korean War is well known to all of us. Suffice it to say that over 54,000 Americans died in that bloody war which lasted only 36 months. Nearly the same number died in Vietnam in a period spanning over a dozen years. The ferocity and brutality of the combat is a matter of record. To many, that record, today, is a matter of great sorrow. We in Congress have an opportunity to remedy that.

Last week H.R. 2205 was reported by the Committee on House Administration minus the figure of $5 million which we had amended the bill to include. To me, this move could threaten the efforts to construct this memorial.

Mr. Chairman, we had worked out an innovative approach to our legislation which would have allowed for the construction of the Memorial by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC). The ABMC is under the direct "oversight" control of the House Veterans Affairs Committee and is a well known and reputable government agency. This group is already empowered to accept donations from individuals and foundations which then become tax deductible under IRS regulations. Our bill would have specifically strengthened this provision to explicitly state that the ABMC was allowed to accept funds for the construction of a Korean War Memorial. I think that Colonel Ryan of the ABMC can tell you that some monies have already trickled in despite the absence of any large scale publicity.

Our bill, H.R. 2205, as agreed to before the Task Force in July, would call for an appropriation of $5 million from the federal government to construct the memorial. It was our hope that the veterans organizations, including many of those you will hear from in testimony later today, would then begin to publicize the role of the ABMC in this process. Contributions would then result in a significant if not total defrayal of the cost to the government of the project. Mr. Chairman, funds collected by ABMC would then be transferred back to the government to compensate for the monies paid out.

By utilizing this approach several things were accomplished. First, any hint of impropriety, allegation or misuse of any money by any other organization for the purpose of building this memorial is removed -- permanently. The ABMC would be the sole collecting agent for the donated monies and would be the only group empowered to transfer the collected funds back to the government.

Second, the Memorial would begin to be constructed immediately and not after several or more years of publicity and contributions. With each day that the Memorial moved closer to completion the flow of funds from Korean War veterans and from those close to them would have increased. Of that I am sure.

When Messrs. Montgomery and Hammerschmidt and I introduced this bill seven months ago we intentionally asked that the government act as the contractor. Now we have a viable and effective plan which would even compensate the government for the loaned money. We cannot compensate those who have died for their lives, nor those who still live today for their pain and anguish. We can at least make sure that they suffer no further.

I ask the committee to reinsert the appropriation figure of $5 million into Senator Armstrong's bill which you are considering today. It is the least we can do for the memory of those who served and died in Korea. To leave the bill dangling, as it is in its present form, is to invite misunderstanding and argument over the memory and graves of those who can no longer defend themselves because they died defending us. It is not right and today we can make it right.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much, Representative Florio.

I think we're going to hear now the other bill which proposes that funding come for the Korean Veterans Memorial from the private sector.

Senator Denton is on the Veterans Committee with me, and I welcome you this morning and I look forward to your testimony and your recommendation, Senator.

## STATEMENT OF HON. JEREMIAH DENTON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Senator **Denton**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In no way is my own proposal intended to be competitive with the one submitted by my friend and colleague from Colorado, Bill Armstrong.

There was, I understand, some concern budgetarily about provision for Federal funding. Thus, I wanted to make an alternative available. There may be those who claim that Federal income tax exemptions taken for this cost the Federal Government the same as the monument. Some might attack that on the basis that perhaps they would have spent their money some other way for which there would not have been an income tax exemption or deduction.

But I don't feel that way. I don't mind if the Federal Government antes up budgetarily to honor the veterans of the Korean War who are overdue in terms of recognition. But in the awareness that there are those who have concerns and might oppose, in spite of the 54 in the Senate who cosponsored Senator Armstrong's bill, I offered this one to get the full range of alternatives there.

So the Armstrong bill provides for Federal funding and contains an open-ended authorization, and the sponsors of that legislation in the other body will, if it is enacted, seek an appropriation for the full cost of the memorial, just to get it authorized. And they're emphasizing here this morning that there would be acceptance of private funds. It's possible that those private funds would be amply forthcoming, but without organized private solicitation, perhaps not.

So, by contrast, my bill seeks to authorize private funding for the memorial, provides for full involvement of the appropriate Government bodies, includes a sunset provision and designates a specific private organization. I shall not presume to speak for that organization, Korean War Memorial, Inc., since its president is here to speak for it himself.

I would like to conclude and ask that the entire statement be included in the record.

I'll conclude briefly, remarking on some of the key issues that the subcommittee might address. First, some of my colleagues have concerns about private funding in light of the situation with another memorial. But I think it only fair to point out that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial did turn out fairly well, a result in which I had some interest and role. I don't think it was a perfect project, but against some of my own misgivings, popularity in the end certainly attests to the validity of the work that so many put in on it and the concerns of our citizens seem to have been taken care of.

I believe it fair to say the memorial was erected far more quickly with private funds than it would have been with public funds. Second, at a time of serious budget deficits and in light of the rationalization referred to earlier, it might be prudent and responsible in undertaking this, using private funds exclusively, if at all possible. And as Senator Armstrong has already said, he recognized that consideration.

And I have no problem if they go the way of Senator Armstrong's bill or this bill's way. But if the subcommittee decides to go the private route, perhaps my resolution, S.J. Res. 184, provides appropriate safeguards, checks, and sunsetting for whatever groups might be selected and is an appropriate vehicle.

Should the subcommittee believe that a public body, such as the American Battle Monuments Commission should have the responsibility, then I think that the legislation might appropriately spell out the authority and expectation that it solicit and receive funds for the purpose and perhaps impose a sunset provision as well.

The legislation might also specify that no Federal funds should be expended for design and construction of the memorial. In that connection, I note that there are current solicitations on behalf of the Commission for private funds and $500,000, one half a million dollars, is sought just for planning. So the Government has a way of doing things somewhat ponderously, and without commenting on private organizations' administrative expenses and costs, the Government is not known for maximum efficiency either, so I offer this alternative in that spirit also.

As an ancillary point, one might be concerned about whether funding through a public body might not result in the creation of an additional bureaucracy for the design and construction of the memorial. It might be desirable to proscribe in the legislation any bureaucratic growth for the purpose, or at least to place a ceiling on the additive staff that might be required.

And none of this is intended to gainsay my own support for an appropriate memorial to the Korean Veterans as was erected for those of Vietnam.

Third, I know that public responsibility for the memorial does have supporters, and I am one. I do observe, however, that the track record of public bodies in erecting memorials is not very impressive. We have a couple of unfinished monument projects that have been with us for several years, and as nearly as I can tell will be with us for several more years. Whatever one may think of the product or the process, we must admit that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and other privately funded and erected memorials were put in place in commendably short periods.

So we do owe a debt of gratitude to the private groups and individuals who worked long, hard, and effectively to awaken the public and the Congress for the need for the Korean War Memorial and I think they deserve a hearing here this morning, and that's one of the reasons I acceded in submitting this legislation.

Let me say that my purpose is to see a memorial erected for those who served in Korea and I share with my colleagues in the House and in the Senate that goal and it is absolutely with no pride in authorship or spirit of competition that I propose this legislation. I just wanted us to have a full range of choice. We may not be able to get by some statement on the budget, or something slipped into a major authorization bill, which excludes this. Something like the Gramm-Rudman proposal, if passed, might have an adverse effect on this, so I just want to provide at least two clear ways to go, and I certainly respect and commend my colleague, Senator Armstrong, for his initiative.

[The prepared statement of Senator Denton follows:]

29 October 1985
DRAFT
October 28, 1985

## HEARING ON BILLS TO ESTABLISH A KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL

### Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water and Resource Conservation

Honorable Jeremiah Denton, U.S.S.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to testify this morning on behalf of legislation to establish a Korean War Memorial.

It is clear that the time has come for our country to acknowledge the contributions and sacrifices of our men and women who served during the Korean War. The Korean War is the only significant conflict in which United States troops were engaged that does not have a memorial in our nation's capital.

No one would question that the men and women who served in Korea were as brave and as devoted to the ideals of freedom as were those who fought in our other conflicts. The fact, however, that the Korean War was legally considered as a "police action," conducted under the auspices of the United Nations, and with a somewhat

AMBIGUOUS OUTCOME, HAS PERHAPS STOOD IN THE WAY OF FULL APPRECIATION OF THE SERVICE AND SACRIFICE OF THE AMERICANS WHO FOUGHT THERE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE CONGRESS TO ACT TO AUTHORIZE A KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL. THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO SERVED IN OUR ARMED FORCES DURING THAT CONFLICT DESERVE NO LESS.

THERE ARE TWO BILLS PENDING BEFORE YOUR SUBCOMMITTEE. I DID NOT COME HERE THIS MORNING TO ENGAGE IN A DEBATE ABOUT THE MERITS OF EITHER OF THEM, BECAUSE MY OBJECTIVE IS TO HELP BRING ABOUT APPROPRIATE ACTION BY THE CONGRESS TO ESTABLISH A MUCH-NEEDED AND MUCH-DESERVED MEMORIAL. I DO THINK, HOWEVER, THAT YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER THE DIFFERENT APPROACHES REFLECTED BY THE TWO PIECES OF LEGISLATION SO THAT THE FINAL PRODUCT WILL RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO THE NEEDS AND CIRCUMSTANCES.

ONE BILL, INTRODUCED BY MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND FROM COLORADO, PROVIDES FOR FEDERAL FUNDING OF A MEMORIAL AND CONTAINS AN OPEN ENDED AUTHORIZATION. MY UNOFFICIAL UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE SPONSORS OF THAT LEGISLATION IN THE OTHER BODY WILL, IF IT IS ENACTED, SEEK AN APPROPRIATION FOR THE FULL COST OF THE MEMORIAL.

MY BILL, BY CONTRAST, SEEKS TO AUTHORIZE PRIVATE FUNDING FOR THE MEMORIAL, PROVIDES FOR FULL INVOLVEMENT OF THE APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENTAL BODIES, INCLUDES A "SUNSET" PROVISION, AND DESIGNATES A SPECIFIC PRIVATE ORGANIZATION. I SHALL NOT SEEK TO SPEAK FOR THAT ORGANIZATION, KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL INC., SINCE ITS PRESIDENT IS HERE TO SPEAK FOR HIMSELF. I DID, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT THE PRIVATE OPTION NEEDED TO BE HEARD, PARTICULARLY SINCE THAT OPPORTUNITY WAS NOT MADE AVAILABLE WHEN THE OTHER BODY CONSIDERED THE ISSUE.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONCLUDE BY TOUCHING BRIEFLY UPON SOME OF THE KEY ISSUES THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE MUST ADDRESS.

FIRST, I UNDERSTAND THAT SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES HAVE CONCERNS ABOUT PRIVATE FUNDING OF A MEMORIAL IN LIGHT OF THE SITUATION WITH ANOTHER MEMORIAL. I THINK IT ONLY FAIR TO POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL DID TURN OUT FAIRLY WELL, A RESULT IN WHICH I HAD SOME INTEREST AND ROLE, AND THAT ITS POPULARITY CERTAINLY ATTESTS TO ITS RESPONSIVENESS TO THE CONCERNS OF MANY OF OUR CITIZENS.

MOREOVER, I BELIEVE IT FAIR TO SAY THAT THE MEMORIAL WAS ERECTED FAR MORE QUICKLY WITH PRIVATE FUNDS THAN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN WITH PUBLIC FUNDS.

Second, at a time of serious budget deficits, and with the considerable public interest in a Korean War Memorial, it would seem prudent and responsible to enter into an undertaking of this type using private funds if at all possible. I have heard no one argue that there would not be sufficient private funds available through contributions and donations, although there is debate about what private or public organization might be the best to collect and expend them.

Should the decision of the Subcommittee be that the group should be a private one, I believe that my bill, S.J.Res. 184, provides appropriate safeguards, checks, and sunsetting for whatever group might be selected.

Should the Subcommittee believe that a public body, such as the American Battle Monuments Commission, should have the responsibility, then I think that the legislation might appropriately spell out the authority and expectation that it solicit and receive funds for the purpose, and perhaps impose a sunsetting provision as well.

The legislation might also specify that no federal funds should be expended for design and construction of the memorial. In that connection I note that there are current

SOLICITATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE COMMISSION FOR PRIVATE FUNDS TO THE EFFECT THAT $500,000 -- ONE-HALF MILLION DOLLARS -- ARE SOUGHT JUST FOR PLANNING.

AS AN ANCILLARY POINT, ONE MIGHT BE CONCERNED ABOUT WHETHER FUNDING THROUGH A PUBLIC BODY MIGHT NOT RESULT IN THE CREATION OF AN ADDITIONAL BUREAUCRACY FOR THE DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEMORIAL. IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO PROSCRIBE IN LEGISLATION ANY BUREAUCRATIC GROWTH FOR THE PURPOSE, OR AT LEAST TO PLACE A CEILING ON THE ADDITIVE STAFF THAT MIGHT BE REQUIRED.

THIRD, I KNOW THAT PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MEMORIAL HAS SUPPORTERS. I MUST OBSERVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE TRACK RECORD OF PUBLIC BODIES IN ERECTING MEMORIALS IS NOT EXACTLY AN IMPRESSIVE ONE. WE HAVE A COUPLE OF UNFINISHED ONES THAT HAVE BEEN WITH US FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND, AS NEARLY AS I CAN TELL, WILL BE WITH US FOR SEVERAL MORE YEARS. WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK OF THE PRODUCT OR THE PROCESS, WE MUST ADMIT THAT THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL AND OTHER PRIVATELY-FUNDED AND ERECTED MEMORIALS WERE PUT IN PLACE IN COMMENDABLY SHORT PERIODS.

IN THAT CONNECTION, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO OBSERVE THAT WE ALL OWE A DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO THE PRIVATE GROUPS AND individuals who have worked long, hard, and effectively to awaken the public and the Congress to the need for a Korean War Memorial. Our meeting here this morning is in large measure attributable to their efforts. They have my appreciation, and I am sure the appreciation of everyone else who believes that there should be a Korean War Memorial in our nation's capital.

Mr. Chairman, let me say that my purpose in submitting legislation and in being here this morning is to see a memorial erected for those who served in Korea. That goal is, I am confident, shared by all of us who have an interest in the issue. I hope that, using whatever legislative approach and vehicle the Subcommittee may choose, we can move quickly to achieve that most worthy goal.

Mr. Chairman, the brave men and women who fought and died in Korea to preserve our freedom, and the cause of freedom throughout the world, deserve to have a memorial in Washington, D.C. That memorial would be a fitting, if inadequate, testimonial to the ongoing debt of gratitude that we and all Americans owe to them.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you and I appreciate your presentation. I want to point out for your benefit collectively, that the administration, of course, favors the private funding route. And OMB has gone on record as preferring to support your particular bill as opposed to the other bill that has been introduced by Senator Armstrong.

That presents the subcommittee with a decision from the standpoint of which bill to support. Obviously, taking on the administration in times of fiscal austerity makes these things a little more difficult, so it would be beneficial to the subcommittee to have some definitive positions.

Senator Armstrong, there's no question about your position. Senator Denton, I take it that you prefer yours, but your main objective is to urge that the memorial be built and you're not necessarily totally opposed to S. 1223.

Senator **Denton**. I support it. I just want to offer the subcommittee a full spectrum of choice so that we won't miss the opportunity.

Senator **Murkowski**. I understand. But you see the position this committee is in. It's in the position of recommending one of two bills. One bill is supported by the administration; the other is not. We have both been in these positions before. What makes it a little more complex is that there have been precedents set either way, with both appropriated funds and private funds.

There's a precedent with the Gen. John Pershing Memorial which was erected by the American Battle Monuments Commission pursuant to the Act in 1966, or the Vietnam Veterans and the U.S. Navy memorials, both of which were authorized by Congress in 1980. The latter were authorized and funded by private organizations and the administration's statement is that they believe and therefore recommend that in this particular case of Korean veterans, it's more appropriate to follow the precedent of the Vietnam veterans and the U.S. Naval Memorial and erect the Korean War Memorial with private funds.

I assume neither of you have an objection to a mixture of private and Federal. Do you have a recommendation with regard to whether or not it should be erected by the American Battle Monuments Commission, or do you recommend that its design just meet the boilerplate requirements of the authorization which goes back to the establishment of how memorials will be erected?

And it's a rather lengthy requirement of meeting the Secretary of the Interior's Fine Arts and National Capital Planning Commission, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. So you have one or two ways to go.

And I would like—and anyone can answer this, because obviously there's Congressman Florio and Congresswoman Johnson who may have opinions, but what we need is your specific recommendation. Is this the route you are recommending? Or do you just want whatever private organization or public organization comes and meets the criteria established by the Department of Interior? Do you want it under the American Battle Monuments Commission?

Representative **Florio**. Senator, I think there is unquestioned support for the American Battle Monuments Commission's expertise and capability. I think you're going to hear from them today. I think there is no dispute that that is probably the best way to go in terms of the actual control of the process, regardless of how it's going to be financed.

And the observation that some of us have made is that there's a combination that can be put together here to accommodate the administration's concerns about not depleting Federal moneys, although some of us think this is an appropriate and legitimate concern for Federal moneys, by having the Federal moneys up front to get the process started, with the capability of the private sector and private donations being provided to reimburse the Federal Government, with no expectation that those moneys will not come in.

I think it's fairly clear that the veterans organizations, other groups, have said the money is there but it will take a bit more time if we wait for the private sector to get ready, rather than have public moneys with the capability of priviate moneys being used for reimbursement.

Senator **Murkowski**. One of the requirements in construction of memorials with private sector solicitation is that nothing be allowed to be initiated until all the funds are available for construction—construction and completion of the project.

I know that we have Representative Parris who also wants to talk about this, so prior to your formal statement, if you want to get in some of the questions or opinions—because what we're looking for, obviously, is a consensus here and I think we've got one—it can be a combination. I'm not so sure that Representative Florio necessarily spoke for everyone when he suggested that the erection be by the American Battle Monuments, but you can all address that.

So that's where I'm at as far as trying to get input from you gentlemen and ladies.

Senator **Armstrong**. Mr. Chairman, I am obligated to go to the floor to preside, and so I'm going to ask to be excused, but I do endorse what Mr. Florio has said. I also want to compliment Senator Denton. He and I see this largely the same. I'm a little more inclined toward public funding of it because I think that's proper, but if there are private groups that want to participate, I think that's proper, too.

Senator **Murkowski**. You spent a good deal of time in the budgetary process. Would you support a situation where the administration made a recommendation of a specific dollar amount and then the balance coming from the private sector?

Senator **Armstrong**. I wouldn't have any problem with that, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Murkowski**. My point is, it might be easier to get.

Senator **Armstrong**. I personally would have no difficulty in supporting the erection of a monument that was funded entirely from Federal funds or from a combination; nor do I have any doubt, frankly, that the Congress would approve this kind of an appropriation entirely from Federal funds.

In other words, I think it is such a small issue in the sense of the Federal budget. If I can say this without being misunderstood—I overheard someone here this morning make the observation if we can afford to finance the war, surely we can afford to finance the memorial.

It seems to me that it is entirely proper. It's a small amount relative to total Federal spending. So I wouldn't be uncomfortable with that, but certainly I'd be pleased if private groups wanted to help.

Senator **Murkowski**. Do you agree with Representative Florio, that $5 million is a ballpark figure?

Senator **Armstrong**. Yes; my bill doesn't suggest a number, but leaves that to be resolved when the design is completed, but $5 million is reasonable.

Senator **Murkowski**. Representative Parris has been kind enough to listen to the debate and has not had a chance to be heard, and I would welcome your testimony, and I apologize for the informality.

## STATEMENT OF HON. STANFORD E. (STAN) PARRIS, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. **Parris**. Not at all, Senator. I appreciate very much the opportunity to make these brief comments, and I will be extremely brief in my remarks.

To address the issue that we just left, Federal funding would not rule out private contributions to this cause and as a matter of fact, the ABMC, the Monuments Commission, is authorized to accept the private contributions, as I'm sure you are aware. An account has been setup, and I'm informed that there is $1,400 or so in it now, which is not a large sum, but it's a step in the right direction.

The thing that concerns those of us that advocate public funding is that that Commission is not set up to solicit large sums, relatively large sums of public moneys. If restricted and unable to use Federal funds, if they're not able to organize and get cranking and so forth, we're just going to have further delay on the accomplishment of the completion of an appropriate memorial.

And Senator Armstrong—my classmate, by the way, in the House—used my comment that if we can finance this war, we can sure as the devil build a memorial to the people that fought it.

I think it's just long past time that we didn't something for these extraordinary people that made great sacrifice in difficult circumstances. And, frankly, Senator, I'll just leave you with this thought. Let me associate myself with the remarks of Senator Armstrong in terms of the relative insignificance of $3½ million to $5 million for this kind of a purpose out of the huge, enormous budget that we all have to deal with.

Let me just suggest to you, we had an extremely emotional hearing in the House on this issue, which I have no desire to repeat. Senator Glenn was there. Thirty-five years ago, he and I both flew jets in Korea, and I can remember, even though it is 35 years later, I can still hear the voice of a wingman of mine who got shot in the throat, and I followed him all the way down. I can close my eyes and see things that I would prefer to forget. I can smell napalm to this day.

So I think it's time that we did something about all this and I hope you'll do it.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Parris follows:]

### THE HONORABLE STAN PARRIS
### TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE ENERGY SUBCOMMITTEE
### ON PUBLIC LANDS
### S.1223, KOREAN WAR VETERANS' MEMORIAL ACT OF 1985
October 29, 1985

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me this opportunity to testify before this committee on this matter so important to me and my nearly six million colleagues whom I served along-side in the Korean War. The very fact that these hearings are being held is testimony to the fact that the American people and the Government of the United States are finally prepared to acknowledge the courage and the sacrifices made by this extraordinary group of men and women.

I would also like to take a moment to commend the efforts of the bill's sponsor in the Senate, Senator Armstrong. It is only through his abilities, dedication to the cause and determination to see it through, that it has gotten this far and enjoys the strong support, through cosponsorship, of fifty-four of his colleagues.

It is clear, from the list of those cosponsoring Senator Armstrong's bill, the 170-plus cosponsors of my bill and the numerous cosponsors of Mr. Florio's bill, that this is not a partisan issue. As a matter of fact, it is as far from a partisan issue as one could be. In addition, these bills have the strong backing of such veterans groups as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Vietnam Veterans of America, the Chosin Few, the Retired Officers Association, etc.

The Korean War was just that -- a war. The term "police action" does not adequately represent the personal sacrifice which these servicemembers, their families and their friends made for their country and the ideals of freedom and self-determination — the ideals which form the foundation upon which this nation rests and from which it gets its sustinance. 5.7 million Americans served in this war, more than 50,000 of whom made the ultimate sacrifice. In addition, over 103,000 were wounded and more than 5,000 were either captured or were missing in action.

That war ended in 1953. On June 25th of this year, ceremonies in South Korea and the United States marked the 35th anniversary of the beginning of the Korean War. On that day, millions of Koreans and Americans alike, reflected upon the Korean War and its residual effect on their lives.

It is deeply disturbing to me that there, after 35 years, is not yet a memorial in the Nations Capital to honor these brave veterans of the Korean War. The only group of war veterans not to be so honored. These individuals have been leap-frogged by time and it is our intention, as sponsors of these bills, not to allow this disservice to go unremedied.

The Korean War Veterans' Memorial Act of 1985 would authorize the American Battle Monuments Commission to erect a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia to honor the Veterans of the Korean War. The ABMC was created expressly for this purpose by act of Congress in 1923.

There has been some concern raised that the bills introduced by Senator Armstrong, Mr. Florio and myself all would authorize federal funding for this project. The reasons I chose to go this route are really quite simple. Allow me to explain, using as an example the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial Fund, the private organization which raised the funds necessary to build the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

The VVMF raised eleven million dollars for their memorial, while the memorial itself cost in the area of $3.4 million. The balance went for fundraising, office space, and other overhead costs. With that in mind, I posed the following question to the number crunchers at the Internal Revenue Service: "What would be the estimated tax revenue loss to the Treasury on eleven million dollars in charitable contribution deductions?" The answer that came back was "about $3.5 million." So, financially speaking, its a wash. Since it really wouldn't cost much more, if any more, we ought to just get it done using Federal funds.

Of course, federal funding would not rule out private contributions to the cause. Indeed, the ABMC is authorized through its original charter to accept private contributions. As such, an account for this purpose has been set up by the ABMC and has received over $1,400 in deposits thus far.

Senator Armstrong's bill would specifically authorize $500,000 so that the two year design process may begin. This is, perhaps, the most efficient way to pursue our goal.

S.1223 is an excellent bill and I would urge this subcommittee to take favorable action on it. It is my profound desire that, upon completion of Subcommittee action, the full committee and the full Senate take prompt and positive action on S.1223 during this session of the 99th Congress. The time for this memorial is now -- not in another 35 years.

Again, I thank the committee for the opportunity to testify and would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much, Representative Parris.

Mr. **Parris**. Thank you.

Senator **Murkowski**. I would wish the panel a good day, and we will proceed with the witnesses in one order or another. Are there any other Congressmen or Senators in the room that we didn't recognize?

[No response.]

Senator **Murkowski**. Good. Our spy system is working better than I thought.

OK, we're going to call up the administration witnesses, and I must ask your forebearance, the balance of the room. I assume, hopefully, that you're not all witnesses, but if you are, why we're going to have to interrupt you as various Representatives and Senators do appear.

I would ask Denis P. Galvin, Deputy Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and Mr. Roger Merrick, Deputy Director, North African Affairs, Department of State, to come before the committee at this time. And I would wonder if my colleague, Senator Hecht, would temporarily Chair. I have a phone call. I'll be right back. You may proceed with your statements.

Senator **Hecht** [presiding]. Mr. Galvin, I understand this is your first appearance, and you're a brand new Deputy Director, so we welcome you.

## STATEMENT OF DENIS P. GALVIN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. **Galvin**. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman, as most of these bills contemplate placement of these memorials on land that is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, I'd like to testify on all of them. I have a prepared statement that will be submitted for the record.

The first bill I would like to testify on is S. 1107, the Third Infantry Division Memorial. We recommend against the enactment of S. 1107. This bill authorizes the Society of the Third Infantry Division to erect a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs. The memorial would honor and commemorate the men of the Rock of the Marne, the Third Infantry Division, U.S. Army.

The Secretary of the Interior's National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee has recommended policy guidelines applicable to proposals for memorials on parklands in the District of Columbia and its environs. For military memorials, the committee's policy is that only military memorials commemorating all members of the Armed Forces identified with a war or other significant event should be authorized.

The recently completed Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the authorized Navy Memorial, and the proposed Korean War Memorial are consistent with that policy; the proposed Third Infantry Division Memorial is not. If division-size units were considered appropriate for memorials in the Nation's Capital, there would be a potential for more than 150 memorials according to the American Battle Monuments Commission. There is not enough parkland to accommodate all such memorials in the Nation's Capital. Memorials of this type should be erected at military establishments throughout the United States which are significant to the unit's history.

Mr. Chairman, now I would like to testify on both bills suggesting a Korean War Memorial, S. 1223 and S.J. Res. 184. We oppose enactment of S. 1223 and recommend enactment of S.J. Res. 184 if certain technical amendments are adopted. S. 1223 would authorize the American Battle Monuments Commission to provide for the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs. The memorial would honor members of the U.S. Armed Forces who served in the Korean War, particularly those who were killed in action, missing in action, or prisoners of war.

The site design and construction plans for the memorial must be approved by the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission. Maintenance would be the responsibility of the Department of the Interior. Such funds as are necessary are authorized to be appropriated.

S.J. Res. 184 would authorize a corporation, the Korean War Memorial, Inc., to erect a memorial having the same purposes. The Secretary of the Interior would select the site and maintain the memorial. The design and plans would have to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Authority to erect the memorial would lapse unless it is begun within 5 years, and sufficient funds are available to complete it.

The Secretary of the Interior's National Capital Advisory Committee has recommended that as to military memorials, only those commemorating all members of the Armed Forces identified with a war or other significant event should be authorized on parkland in the District of Columbia or its environs. Clearly, a memorial to all members of the Armed Forces who served in the Korean War is consistent with that policy.

The issue remains as to whether the memorial should be erected by the American Battle Monuments Commission, a Federal agency, and with appropriated funds as authorized in S. 1223, or should it be erected by a private corporation with no Federal funds. As the previous Chair pointed out, there is precedent for both approaches.

We believe and therefore recommend that it is more appropriate to follow the precedent of the Vietnam Veterans and the U.S. Navy Memorials on this issue and erect the Korean War Memorial with private funds. We have no information about the private corporation referred to in S.J. Res. 184 or its ability to provide adequate funds for a memorial.

If your committee acts on S.J. Res. 184, we recommend technical amendments to that measure. It authorizes the memorial on public grounds, which means only lands under the jurisdiction of Interior or the District of Columbia. The joint resolution should be amended to provide for approval by the Mayor of the District of Columbia of the site and the design, and for maintenance by the Mayor if the memorial is erected on land under the jurisdiction of the District.

Senator HECHT. Excuse me, Mr. Galvin. Would you mind just holding up for one moment? We have Senator Glenn here and he's on a short time schedule. I'd like to accommodate him.

Senator Glenn.

Senator **Glenn**. How long were you going to be?

Mr. **Galvin**. I've finished my testimony on that particular bill, Senator.

Senator **Glenn**. All right, thank you. I'd appreciate that very much.

Senator **Hecht**. We might have a rollcall momentarily.

Senator **Glenn**. And Mary Rose Oakar is with me here also.

Senator **Hecht**. Would you come up, too, please?

### STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN GLENN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Senator **Glenn**. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that very much because I do have some conflicts here this morning and I appreciate your courtesy in letting me go ahead here.

I am pleased to be here today to express my very strong support for this legislation to authorize the construction of a memorial to Americans who fought and died and to all others who served in defense of freedom in Korea. I believe this memorial will be a well-deserved and a long-overdue tribute.

I am here today out of a very profound sense of respect for the sacrifices that were made in the Korean war. It wasn't a long war, not the longest in our history by a long shot. It lasted only a little over 3 years, but it was a tough war. The United States in that war suffered 162,708 casualties, including 54,246 killed in action; 1,110,000 U.N. forces served in combat in Korea, including 408,000 Americans. We lost 2,000 aircraft in Korea, most of them to anti-aircraft fire.

Now, I do not seek this memorial for myself. I have my own personal memorial in memories of that conflict. And I remember a squadron commander getting shot down when I was flying next to him, flying wing on him during some of my checkout missions. And I thought he was gone, but he came out in Big Switch at Panmunjon at Freedom Village after the war.

And my personal memories also are ones about the fellows who didn't show up at the rendezvous point after a mission, and that was tough. And I remember the letters to the next of kin, and I can tell you that's some of the hardest writing that I've ever done in my whole life. I remember seeing planes on fire. Most people here in this room have probably never seen a plane crash and know that someone was in it that you knew as a friend.

And I remember the gratitude of the men on the front lines for the close air support that we were giving to them. And then we'd trade places once in a while. We would go up on the lines for a couple days and they'd come back and live at the squadron, and I remember the very profound feelings of respect that I felt for them and what they were trying to do, and what they were doing up there. They made our own task seem much more livable than the people that were there on the ground up in the front.

And I remember in my own mental memorial also aerial combat. I went up after my Marine missions were done, on close air support and interdiction missions, flew with the Air Force against the

MIG's along the Yalu. That was probably the last real jet dogfighting that will ever occur, and it was tough 1-on-1 fighting.

And, without bragging, I guess, we did a pretty good, doggone good job it it, because we only lost 1 plane for every 12 of theirs that they lost. And so I remember also just the plain exuitation of survival.

And I remember, too, the stories of Chosin Reservoir. I was not at Chosin Reservoir, but I certainly knew a lot about it. Frozen Chosin it was called. Because it's one of the most amazing military accomplishments in all the history of warfare, just that they got out of there. And so I have memories of that, too, because a friend of mine was a forward air controller there when they were trying to come out and get to Hungnam. He stood up on a ridge trying to direct air support to a target. While he was standing on that ridge he was shot through the neck, fell down, he struggled to get up again, and was still trying to give instructions to bring the airplanes in, and he died.

And in Korea, as much as anyplace we ever had Americans serve, uncommon valor was indeed a common virtue.

So I have my own memorial. It's my own mental memorial. As I meet others who were out there and shared these experiences, it's a handshake, it's a look in the eye, and that's our memorial. So, for me, the memorial of remembering is enough. But I think for others it's not.

And I can't pass along memories, vivid though they may be to me. We need this memorial to help pass along to our children and our grandchildren an appreciation for this heritage. It's a heritage of freedom that's not free. It has had to be bought over and over again. It's a heritage of individual bravery and personal sacrifice as notable as that of any war in which Americans ever served.

To me, Korean war veterans are personal heroes, and their heroics were magnificent. These individuals deserve thanks and, unfortunately, we rarely do that. So I urge the subcommittee to move quickly to approve this bill. I think it's well deserved.

Mr. Chairman, along with this I know there are others being considered. We've had some 1.2 million women serve in the Armed Forces, and the Women's Memorial is proposed, and I support that.

If we go back to the days of the Revolution, there's another memorial proposed for black soldiers, some 5,000 of whom served in the Revolution, and I support that.

Mr. Chairman, the primary purpose of this today, of course, is the Korean War Memorial, and I hope the committee can move expeditiously and rapidly to support the creation of such a memorial.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Senator Glenn follows:]

## STATEMENT BY SENATOR GLENN

## ON S. 1223 TO AUTHORIZE CONSTRUCTION OF A KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL

OCTOBER 29, 1985

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to be here today to express my strong support for this legislation to authorize construction of a memorial to Americans who fought and who died, and to all others who served in defense of freedom in Korea. I believe this memorial will be a well-deserved and long-overdue tribute.

I am here today out of a very profound sense of respect for the sacrifices that were made in the Korean War. It wasn't a long war , it lasted only a little over three years, but it was a tough little war. 1,110,000 U.N. forces served in combat in Korea, including 480,000 Americans. The U.S. suffered 162,708 casualties, including 54,246 killed in action. We lost 2,000 aircraft in Korea, most of them to anti-aircraft fire.

I do not seek this memorial for myself. I have my own personal memorial in memories. I remember a squadron commander getting shot down when I was flying next to him. I thought he was gone but he came out in Big Switch at Panmunjon at Freedom Village after the war. I remember the ones who didn't show up at the rendezvous point after a mission; and that was tough. I remember the letters to the next of kin -- and that's some of the hardest writing I've ever done. I remember seeing planes on fire. Most people here in this room have probably never seen a plane crash and know that someone was in it that you knew as a friend. I remember the gratitude of the men on the front lines for the close air support we were giving. We used to trade places once in a while. We would go up on the lines for a couple of days, and I remember the profound feelings of respect I felt for them and what they were trying to do.

I remember, in my own mental memorial, aerial combat. I went up after my Marine missions were done and flew with the Air Force against the MIGs along the Yalu. That was probably the last real jet dog fighting that will ever occur. It was tough one-on-one fighting and we did a pretty dog-gone good job of it -- we lost one plane for every twelve that they lost. I remember the exultation of survival.

And I remember Chosin Reservoir, Frozen Chosin. It's one of the most amazing military accomplishments in history that they got out of there. A friend of mine was a forward air controller there, when they were trying to come out and get to Hungnam. He stood up on a ridge trying to direct air support to a target. While he was standing on that ridge he was shot through the neck. But he struggled up again, still giving directions until he died.

In Korea, as much as any place we ever had Americans serve, uncommon valor was a common virtue.

So I have my own memorial. And when I meet others who were out there and shared these experiences, a handshake, a look in the eye -- that is our memorial. For me the memorial of remembering is enough, but I think for others it is not. I can't pass along those memories, vivid as they may be. We need this memorial to help pass along to our children and our grandchildren an appreciation for this heritage, a heritage of freedom that is not free. A heritage of individual bravery and personal sacrifice as notable as that of any war in which Americans served. To me, Korean war veterans are personal heroes, and their heroics were magnificent. These individuals deserve thanks, unfortunately we rarely do that.

I urge the Subcommittee to move quickly to approve this bill. It is well deserved.

Senator **Hecht**. Thank you, Senator.

Congresswoman----

Senator **Glenn**. Congresswoman Mary Rose Oakar.

## STATEMENT OF HON. MARY ROSE OAKAR, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mrs. **Oakar**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and to my colleague and senior Senator from Ohio. I'm very proud of Senator Glenn. I just wanted to compliment the committee on having these hearings. I chair a committee on the House side, and we have passed out three pieces of legislation—the memorial for Korean war vets, the memorial commemorating the black patriots who served in the Revolutionary War, and the memorial honoring women who have served historically since Revolutionary times.

Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to join Senator Glenn in this, because we're going to pass our bills under suspension next Monday, in time for Veterans Day. And I think that there are so many individuals, like many women, many minorities, and certainly Korean war vets who have not really gotten the tribute perhaps in a memorial sense paid to them. And I think these memorials do mean something.

I think of my own youth when my brother and my brother-in-law left for Korea as 18-year-olds, high school graduates, and were serving and were immediately placed in the front lines. And they were among the fortunate ones who came back home. And I think they mirror the feelings of a lot of soliders that the Senator was talking about, because they feel that while many were injured and died for their country, there's never been a memorial for them.

Women feel that—as the Senator mentioned, we have 1.2 million women who are veterans. We have 20,000 who served in the Revolutionary War. We have 350,000, for example, who served in World War II, many of them wounded, many of them were killed. And minorities feel that somehow their contributions to our country's security and freedom have not always been recognized. We have more than 5,000 who served in the Revolutionary War alone.

So I think it's very, very fitting that the Senate act on these bills. As I mentioned, we have acted on ours and we compliment the companion pieces on the Senate side and we hope that you can deal with these memorials as expeditiously and possibly we can all perhaps have them passed by Veterans Day.

It would be a nice target, it seems to me, if that would be possible.

So I just wanted to submit my testimony, my full testimony for the record, and compliment you for having these hearings.

[The prepared statements of Mrs. Oakar follow:]

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

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WILLIAM CLAY, MISSOURI BILL FRENZEL, MINNESOTA
JIM BATES, CALIFORNIA NEWT GINGRICH, GEORGIA
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REMARKS OF

THE HONORABLE MARY ROSE OAKAR

HEARING ON S. 1223

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

OCTOBER 29, 1985

I am proud to appear on behalf of S. 1223, with my colleague from Ohio, Senator Glenn. This bill is the companion bill to H.R. 2205, introduced by my distinguished colleague, Representative James Florio along with the distinguished Chairman of the House Veterans Affairs Committee, the Honorable G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery, and the ranking minority member of that Committee the Honorable John Paul Hammerschmidt. On July 10, 1985, the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials, which I chair, held hearings on this bill, to authorize a memorial for those who served in the Korean conflict.

This display of bipartisan leadership is indicative of the importance and the enthusiastic support for this bill, both in the Congress and throughout the country.

The Korean War lasted officially from 1950-1953. During these three years American soldiers experienced casualities that were catastrophic in proportion to previous conflicts. The United States alone lost 54,246 lives during that period. 103,284 were wounded and 4,675 were captured. The United States Defense Department concluded that more than 6,000 American troops and 5,500 other soldiers had perished after falling into the hands of the enemy. Approximately half of those 11,500 soldiers were the victims of atrocities perpetrated by the North Koreans and the other half died in prisons. The Army shows that 1,036 American soldiers had been murdered after their capture.

This "international police action", as it was commonly called, was a war in every sense of the word. This "war" became the testing ground for the "militarization" of American diplomacy. War strategy was transferred from the hands of the military to the formulators of foreign policy. Rules applied to traditional warfare were disregarded in most instances.

The Korean War marked a major turning point in post 1945 American military policy. It provided the political context for rearmament and the development of NATO. It would also draw the United States into a policy that would have long range consequences in the future, of active military participation in Asia.

On the eve of the 32nd anniversary of the armistice signed on July 27, 1953 at Panmunjom, South Korea, this memorial will serve as a timely reminder of the important sacrifices made by these veterans some 32 years ago. Their service to their country was no less important than those who fought in World War I, World War II, or the conflict that was to follow. It is therefore appropriate to have a Korean War Memorial to honor those who served.

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[illegible] [illegible]
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REMARKS OF

THE HONORABLE MARY ROSE OAKAR

HEARING ON S.J.RES. 143

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

OCTOBER 29, 1985

I am honored to testify with my colleague from Ohio, Senator Glenn, on S.J.Res. 143, a resolution that would authorize the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia at an appropriate site in Constitution Gardens. I, as Chair of the House Task Force on Libraries and Memorials, held hearings on the companion legislation H.J.Res. 142.

I would like to commend the sponsors for introducing this historic legislation that will authorize the construction of a memorial to honor the more than 5,000 black revolutionary war patriots, slaves and free black men and women who fought so gallantly and selflessly in our countries quest for independence. People such as Crispus Attucks, the first black patriot to die in the Boston massacre in 1770; and, Oliver Cromwell, a black man who crossed the Delaware with General Washington.

White history has robbed all Americans of the chance to learn about the contributions of black men and women during this important period. Most history books, in American schools, have omitted the contributions of black soldiers, from the Revolutionary War to the conflict in Vietnam. Only since the establishment of black studies departments in universities and secondary schools have we begun to learn of the important contributions that black people have made throughout our countries history. I look forward to the day that black history is taught in the classroom as part of the regular or mainstream

American history curriculum.

Approximately 20% of the colonial population of 2.5 million were black, yet many of the white colonists were against arming and recruiting them. In fact, the official policy, of the Continental Army under Washington, was to refuse the enlistment of any "stroller, Negro, or vagabond". The British, quick to take advantage of the divisive nature of racism and slavery, sought to enlist blacks in exchange for their freedom. As a result of this, and because there was a manpower shortage and a newly imposed draft, General Washington authorized the recruitment of "free Negroes" desirous of enlisting in the army. These enlisted black soldiers served in integrated units. Later in the war "black units" were formed. Slaves, although officially barred, were frequently used as substitutes in place of their masters to fulfill their service requirement.

By contrast, the Continental Navy enlisted blacks. No state passed legislation barring blacks from naval service. Several states, in fact, paid bonuses to black crew members or granted freedom to known slaves.

Service in the colonial military units brought the rewards of freedom and land grants to some slaves; but, their contributions, were soon forgotten after the war. None received formal recognition nor were any declared national heroes. Fear of slave revolts remained a primary concern in the minds of many white colonists. The revolutionary fervor felt so strongly amongst the white members of the colonies did not transcend to the rights of their colonial born black brothers and sisters.

As early as 1652, Blacks were fighting as members of the militia in colonial America, beginning their history of achievements and heroism. This is a story which has, for the most part, been omitted from American history books. A memorial is but a small tribute, too long in coming, to those black Americans who played an important but forgotten part in the founding of this country.

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REMARKS OF

THE HONORABLE MARY ROSE OAKAR

HEARING ON S.J.RES. 156

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

OCTOBER 29, 1985

I am honored to testify with my colleague from Ohio, Senator Glenn, on S. J. Res. 156, a joint resolution authorizing a memorial to be erected in the District of Columbia or its environs.

On January 3, 1985 I introduced the companion legislation, H.J.Res. 36 which will authorize the establishment of a memorial to honor the thousands of women who have served in our Armed Forces. The Federal government would provide the land in the District of Columbia, while the funding of the memorial itself would come from private sources.

Women have served in a variety of military occupations in the Armed Forces since the American Revolutionary War where more than 20,000 women served.

Women also experienced combat action in the Civil War. The most famous female soldier of that time was Sara Edwards, who disregarded the customary social mores of the 19th century and performed the functions of: spy, courier, nurse, and soldier for the Union Army. Other women, such as Clara Barton also made their mark in history tending to the sick and wounded. Barton went on to establish both the Arlington National Cemetary and the Red Cross.

Women have not been considered official participants of the military services since the formation of the Army Nurse Corps in 1901 and the Navy Nurse Corps in 1908.

Even in World War II, the urgency of defending our country gave reason to the male dominated military for womens' broader participation within the Armed Services. Performing a myriad of duties, women like pilot Cornelia Fort (WASPS), proved their bravery and dedication to our country, some losing their lives in the process.

Contrary to popular belief, in all wars, women have been killed, maimed, disabled, and injured psychologically.

There are the names of eight nurses listed on the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial. But that small number of dead does not represent the daily fear of death or injury.

The World War II mobilization brought 350,000 women into the service as well as many others who served in quasi-military support units. For example, the Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASPS) engaged 800 female pilots, from applications of over 25,000, to ferry war planes around the world. Women also performed traditionally male tasks such as, changing tires, repairing planes, rigging parachutes. They served as gunnery instructors, test pilots, air traffic controllers, naval air navigators and worked in air transport services.

Many people do not know that the First Womens' Army Corps (WACS) Unit landed in Normandy 38 days after D-Day. Further more, 65 women were taken captive as POWs from December 1941 to February 1945 on Corregidor. Nurses were on the beach head at Anzio.

In light of their distinguished service, women veterans have, throughout history, been largely overlooked by their male counterparts in the military and in the government.

Even today there is very little research information available on female veterans. Today there are over one million one hundred and fifty thousand female veterans. In the United States alone they account for over 4.1% of all living American veterans.

The story of women veterans in American history is one in which all women can take pride. They have indeed performed with pride and courage in the defense of their country. They have suffered the dangers and agonies of war in combat, combat support, and combat service support in many regions of the world. In spite of this, womens' roles in the area of national defense in peace time situations have remained limited.

We know that the issue of peace in the world is of particular importance to women as mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters. They have sacrificed their lives, the lives of their sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, and loved ones.

In this era of multi-billion dollar defense systems and the constant threat of nuclear annihilation, all women, particularly women in the military must pursue their interests in the areas of military strategy, policy and security, and strategic defense matters.

Men have historically made the political decisions that have led our country in wars. Women, in turn, have performed the support functions for the military. (Directly in the field performing duties such as medical and technological, etc. or indirectly by working in heavy industry, etc.)

Women deserve to hold many more leadership positions and they should be an integral part of the military's decision making process.

Likewise with the increasing number of women in the military they must be insured equality with their male counterparts, especially in the areas of benefits, rights, and opportunities.

I believe that we are about two hundred years late in honoring the participation of women in the military.

Their efforts have for too long gone unnoticed and their needs unmet. Women in the military have served as role models for all women in our struggle to attain equality.

A memorial to women in the military is but a small way to express what we as a country owe to them.

Senator **Hecht**. Thank you very much.

And, Senator, I appreciated your personal remarks about the Korean war. You know, we always wonder, there but for the grace of God are we. I remember I was taken out of my infantry company and sent to a special school right before going overseas, and the first day of combat, my entire company that we had trained with was killed in combat. And so we all have many, many horrible memories of that war.

Mr. Chairman, you're back.

Senator **Murkowski** [presiding]. Thank you. I appreciate your accommodating my telephone call, and someone came in and caught me as well.

Senator **Hecht**. I want to bring you up. I interrupted Mr. Galvin to accommodate the Senator and the Congresswoman.

Senator **Murkowski**. Are you through, Senator Glenn? You have no further comments? And thanks very much to Representative Oakar.

Senator **Hecht**. And he's right in the middle of his testimony right now.

Senator **Murkowski**. All right. We'll go back to Denis P. Galvin, Deputy Director of the National Park Service, and apologize for the brief interlude, and we assure that we will allow you to finish your statements before we interrupt again. Please proceed.

### STATEMENT OF DENIS P. GALVIN—Resumed

Mr. **Galvin**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would now like to comment on S.J. Res. 156, the Women in the Armed Forces Memorial.

This joint resolution would authorize to be established a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States. It does not specify the entity that would be authorized to establish the memorial. The design and plans would be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission on Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission.

The Secretary of the Interior, with the approval of the same two Commissions, would be directed to select a site for the memorial. Language is included directing the Secretary not to permit construction to begin unless he determines that sufficient amounts are available for completion and providing that the authority to establish the memorial shall expire after 5 years unless construction has begun during that period. Maintenance responsibility would be that of the Secretary of the Interior.

The Secretary of the Interior's National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee has recommended policy guidelines applicable to proposals for memorials on park lands in the District of Columbia and its environs. And as I referred to in previous testimony, for military memorials, the committee's policy is that only memorials commemorating all members of the Armed Forces identified with a war or other significant event, or branches of service of the Armed Forces should be authorized.

Two recent memorials, the recently completed Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the authorized Navy Memorial, are consistent with that policy. In authorizing the Navy Memorial, Congress stated as follows: The U.S. Navy Memorial Foundation is authorized to erect a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia in honor and in commemoration of the men and women of the U.S. Navy who have served their country in war and peace.

The language is similar in the legislation authorizing the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, wherein the Congress authorized the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc. to establish a memorial "in honor and recognition of the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Vietnam War."

These memorials specifically honor men and women. To the extent that S.J. Res. 156 purports to confer additional recognition upon women who have served in the Navy or who are Vietnam veterans, it is duplicative of memorials already authorized. Because this resolution is not consistent with the policy on military memorials adopted by the Secretary's advisory committee and because the measure would duplicate the commemorative effect of two memorials already authorized, we recommend against its enactment.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to comment on S.J. Res. 143, Black Revolutionary War Patriots Memorial. My prepared statement summarizes the provisions of the legislation. We would like to recommend that action on S.J. Res. 143 be deferred until the Secretary has the opportunity to consult with and obtain the advice of the Secretary's National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee.

While the committee has established a policy on military memorials which we have referred to in our testimony on the Third Infantry, Korean War, and Women in Armed Services memorial proposals, the committee has not set forth a policy on historical figures such as would be commemorated under this proposed legislation.

The committee will be meeting on November 14 and S.J. Res. 143 will be on its agenda. If the Congress acts favorably on the measure, we strongly recommend that it be amended by deleting the requirement that the memorial be located in Constitution Gardens. Normally, legislation authorizing memorials on park lands does not specify the precise location for the memorial. The location should be a function of the design and other factors that are not now known or determined.

We prefer "in the District of Columbia or its environs" to the site-specific language in the proposed legislation.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment on S. 1379, the Morocco monument. We recommend that action on this proposal be deferred until the Secretary of the Interior has the opportunity to obtain the advice of the National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee on this proposed monument.

I have referred to this Federal advisory committee previously, and they will meet on November 14 and will consider this proposal.

S. 1379 would direct the Secretary of the Interior to select a site for a monument, a gift from the Kingdom of Morocco. The monument is to be erected on grounds now owned by the United States in the District of Columbia if the location and design are approved by the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, and if the erection of the monument is begun within 5 years.

Unlike its policy on military memorials which we have referred to previously, the advisory committee has not established a general policy on the appropriateness of monuments or memorials given to the United States by other governments. The committee should be given a chance to review the design of the proposed monument and the preferred location.

Further, Mr. Chairman, the bill should provide for concurrence on the location and design by the Agency having jurisdiction of the site selected. Also, the bill should make clear the responsibility of that Agency for continued maintenance of the monument.

We note that legislation similar to S. 1379 has been enacted in the past to authorize the erection of statues and monuments commemorating the friendship of other countries. For example, the act of May 21, 1976, authorized the placement of a statue of Bernardo De Galvez, a gift from the people of Spain, and the Act of June 26, 1948, authorized acceptance of a statue of General Jose Gervasio Artigas from the people of Uruguay. We defer to the views of the Department of State as to whether it would be appropriate for the Government to accept a monument from the Kingdom of Morocco.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my formal testimony.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Galvin follows:]

STATEMENT OF DENIS P. GALVIN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER, AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING SUNDRY PROPOSALS FOR MEMORIALS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.

OCTOBER 29, 1985

S. 1107--THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION MEMORIAL

WE RECOMMEND AGAINST THE ENACTMENT OF S. 1107.

THIS BILL AUTHORIZES THE SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION TO ERECT A MEMORIAL ON PUBLIC GROUNDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS. THE MEMORIAL WOULD HONOR AND COMMEMORATE THE MEN OF THE "ROCK OF THE MARNE", THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION, UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S NATIONAL CAPITAL MEMORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE HAS RECOMMENDED POLICY GUIDELINES APPLICABLE TO PROPOSALS FOR MEMORIALS ON PARK LANDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND ITS ENVIRONS. FOR MILITARY MEMORIALS, THE COMMITTEE'S POLICY IS THAT ONLY MILITARY MEMORIALS COMMEMORATING ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES IDENTIFIED WITH A WAR OR OTHER SIGNIFICANT EVENT SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED. THE RECENTLY COMPLETED VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL, THE AUTHORIZED NAVY MEMORIAL, AND THE PROPOSED KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL ARE CONSISTENT WITH THAT POLICY; THE PROPOSED THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION MEMORIAL IS NOT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IF DIVISION-SIZE UNITS WERE CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE FOR MEMORIALS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, THERE WOULD BE A POTENTIAL FOR MORE THAN 150 MEMORIALS ACCORDING TO THE AMERICAN BATTLE

MONUMENTS COMMISSION. THERE IS NOT ENOUGH PARKLAND TO ACCOMMODATE ALL SUCH MEMORIALS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL. MEMORIALS OF THIS TYPE SHOULD BE ERECTED AT MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES WHICH ARE SIGNIFICANT TO THE UNIT'S HISTORY.

S. 1223 AND S.J. RES. 184--KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL

WE OPPOSE ENACTMENT OF S. 1223 AND RECOMMEND ENACTMENT OF S.J. RES. 184, IF CERTAIN TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS ARE ADOPTED.

S. 1223 WOULD AUTHORIZE THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION TO PROVIDE FOR THE ERECTION OF A MEMORIAL ON FEDERAL LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS. THE MEMORIAL WOULD HONOR MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES WHO SERVED IN THE KOREAN WAR, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO WERE KILLED IN ACTION, MISSING IN ACTION OR PRISONERS OF WAR. THE SITE, DESIGN, AND CONSTRUCTION PLANS FOR THE MEMORIAL MUST BE APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS AND THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION. MAINTENANCE WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. SUCH FUNDS AS ARE NECESSARY ARE AUTHORIZED TO BE APPROPRIATED.

S.J. RES. 184 WOULD AUTHORIZE A CORPORATION, THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, INC., TO ERECT A MEMORIAL HAVING THE SAME PURPOSES. THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR WOULD SELECT THE SITE AND MAINTAIN THE MEMORIAL. THE DESIGN AND PLANS WOULD HAVE TO BE APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS, THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION, AND THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION. AUTHORITY TO ERECT THE MEMORIAL WOULD LAPSE UNLESS IT IS BEGUN WITHIN 5 YEARS AND SUFFICIENT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE TO COMPLETE IT.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S NATIONAL CAPITAL MEMORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE HAS RECOMMENDED THAT AS TO MILITARY MEMORIALS, ONLY THOSE COMMEMORATING ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES IDENTIFIED WITH A WAR OR OTHER SIGNIFICANT EVENT SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED ON PARK LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS. CLEARLY, A MEMORIAL TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO SERVED IN THE KOREAN WAR IS CONSISTENT WITH THAT POLICY.

THE ISSUE REMAINS AS TO WHETHER THE MEMORIAL SHOULD BE ERECTED BY THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION, A FEDERAL AGENCY, AND WITH APPROPRIATED FUNDS AS AUTHORIZED IN S. 1223, OR SHOULD IT BE ERECTED BY A PRIVATE CORPORATION, WITH NO FEDERAL FUNDS, AS AUTHORIZED IN S.J. RES. 184. THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR BOTH APPROACHES. THE GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING MEMORIAL WAS ERECTED BY THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION PURSUANT TO THE ACT OF NOVEMBER 7, 1966. THE VIETNAM VETERANS AND UNITED STATES NAVY MEMORIALS, BOTH AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS IN 1980, WERE AUTHORIZED TO BE ERECTED BY PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS. WE BELIEVE AND, THEREFORE, RECOMMEND THAT IT IS MORE APPROPRIATE TO FOLLOW THE PRECEDENT OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS AND UNITED STATES NAVY MEMORIALS ON THIS ISSUE, AND ERECT THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL WITH PRIVATE FUNDS. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ABOUT THE PRIVATE CORPORATION REFERRED TO IN S.J. RES. 184, OR ITS ABILITY TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE FUNDS FOR A MEMORIAL.

IF YOUR COMMITTEE ACTS ON S.J. RES. 184, WE RECOMMEND TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS TO THAT MEASURE. IT AUTHORIZES THE MEMORIAL ON "PUBLIC GROUNDS", WHICH MEANS ONLY LANDS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF INTERIOR OR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. THE JOINT RESOLUTION SHOULD BE AMENDED TO PROVIDE FOR APPROVAL OF THE MAYOR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OF THE SITE AND THE DESIGN, AND FOR MAINTENANCE BY THE MAYOR IF THE MEMORIAL IS ERECTED ON LAND UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE DISTRICT. IF THE MEMORIAL WERE ERECTED ON LAND ADMINISTERED BY THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT, WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO PROVIDING FOR ITS MAINTENANCE.

## S. 1379--MOROCCO MONUMENT

WE RECOMMEND THAT ACTION ON S. 1379 BE DEFERRED UNTIL THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN THE ADVICE OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL MEMORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THIS PROPOSED MONUMENT.

THE COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ACT. IT IS CURRENTLY IN THE PROCESS OF BEING FORMALLY RECONSTITUTED, AS REQUIRED EVERY TWO YEARS BY THE ACT, AND A MEETING OF THE MEMBERS IS SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 14. THE COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED TO ADVISE THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR WITH RESPECT TO THE MANY PROPOSALS FOR THE USE OF PARK LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND ITS ENVIRONS FOR MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS.

S. 1379 WOULD DIRECT THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR TO SELECT A SITE FOR A MONUMENT, A GIFT FROM THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO. THE MONUMENT IS TO BE ERECTED ON GROUNDS NOW OWNED BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IF THE LOCATION AND DESIGN ARE APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS AND THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION, AND IF THE ERECTION OF THE MONUMENT IS BEGUN WITHIN 5 YEARS.

UNLIKE ITS POLICY ON MILITARY MEMORIALS, WHICH WE REFER TO IN OUR TESTIMONY ON THE KOREAN WAR AND THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION PROPOSALS, THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE HAS NOT ESTABLISHED A GENERAL POLICY ON THE APPROPRIATENESS OF MONUMENTS OR MEMORIALS GIVEN TO THE UNITED STATES

BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS. THE COMMITTEE SHOULD BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO REVIEW THE DESIGN OF THE PROPOSED MONUMENT AND THE PREFERRED LOCATION. FURTHER, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE BILL SHOULD PROVIDE FOR CONCURRENCE IN THE LOCATION AND DESIGN BY THE AGENCY HAVING JURISDICTION OF THE SITE SELECTED. ALSO, THE BILL SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THAT AGENCY FOR CONTINUED MAINTENANCE OF THE MONUMENT.

WE NOTE THAT LEGISLATION SIMILAR TO S. 1379 HAS BEEN ENACTED IN THE PAST TO AUTHORIZE THE ERECTION OF STATUES AND MONUMENTS COMMEMORATING THE FRIENDSHIP OF OTHER COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ACT OF MAY 21, 1976, AUTHORIZED THE PLACEMENT OF A STATUE OF BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, A GIFT FROM THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN, AND THE ACT OF JUNE 26, 1948, AUTHORIZED ACCEPTANCE OF A STATUE OF GENERAL JOSE GERVASIO ARTIGAS FROM THE PEOPLE OF URUGUAY. WE DEFER TO THE VIEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AS TO WHETHER IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT A MONUMENT FROM THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO.

S.J. RES. 143--BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WAR PATRIOTS MEMORIAL

THIS MEASURE WOULD AUTHORIZE THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WAR PATRIOTS FOUNDATION TO ESTABLISH A MEMORIAL IN CONSTITUTION GARDENS TO HONOR THE MORE THAN 5,000 COURAGEOUS SLAVES AND FREE BLACK PERSONS WHO GAVE OF THEMSELVES DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. IT CONTAINS THE USUAL PROVISIONS REQUIRING APPROVAL OF THE DESIGN AND PLANS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS, AND THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION. THE SITE WOULD BE SELECTED BY THE SECRETARY IN CONSTITUTION GARDENS, AND MUST BE APPROVED BY THE TWO NAMED COMMISSIONS. CONSTRUCTION MAY NOT BEGIN UNTIL THE SECRETARY DETERMINES THAT SUFFICIENT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE TO INSURE COMPLETION OF THE MEMORIAL, AND AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH THE MEMORIAL SHALL EXPIRE AT THE END OF 5 YEARS UNLESS CONSTRUCTION BEGINS BEFORE THEN.

WE RECOMMEND THAT ACTION ON S.J. RES. 143 BE DEFERRED UNTIL THE SECRETARY HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH AND OBTAIN THE ADVICE OF THE SECRETARY'S NATIONAL CAPITAL MEMORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. WHILE THE COMMITTEE HAS ESTABLISHED A POLICY ON MILITARY MEMORIALS, WHICH WE HAVE REFERRED TO IN OUR TESTIMONY ON THE THIRD INFANTRY, KOREAN WAR, AND WOMEN IN ARMED SERVICES MEMORIAL PROPOSALS, THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT SET FORTH A POLICY ON HISTORICAL FIGURES SUCH AS WOULD BE COMMEMORATED UNDER S.J. RES. 143. THE COMMITTEE WILL BE MEETING ON NOVEMBER 14, AND S.J. RES. 143 WILL BE ON ITS AGENDA.

IF THE CONGRESS ACTS FAVORABLY ON THE MEASURE, WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT IT BE AMENDED TO DELETE THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE MEMORIAL BE LOCATED IN CONSTITUTION GARDENS. NORMALLY, LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING MEMORIALS ON PARK LANDS DOES NOT SPECIFY THE PRECISE LOCATION FOR THE MEMORIAL. THE LOCATION SHOULD BE A FUNCTION OF THE DESIGN AND OTHER FACTORS THAT ARE NOT NOW KNOWN OR DETERMINED. WE BELIEVE "IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS" IS PREFERABLE TO THE SITE-SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IN S.J. RES. 143.

## S.J. RES. 156--WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES MEMORIAL

THIS JOINT RESOLUTION WOULD AUTHORIZE TO BE ESTABLISHED A MEMORIAL ON FEDERAL LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS TO HONOR WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES. IT DOES NOT SPECIFY THE ENTITY THAT WOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO ESTABLISH THE MEMORIAL. THE DESIGN AND PLANS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS, AND THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION. THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SAME TWO COMMISSIONS, WOULD BE DIRECTED TO SELECT A SITE FOR THE MEMORIAL. LANGUAGE IS INCLUDED DIRECTING THE SECRETARY NOT TO PERMIT CONSTRUCTION TO BEGIN UNLESS HE DETERMINES THAT SUFFICIENT AMOUNTS ARE AVAILABLE FOR COMPLETION, AND PROVIDING THAT THE AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH THE MEMORIAL SHALL EXPIRE AFTER FIVE YEARS UNLESS CONSTRUCTION HAS BEGUN DURING THAT PERIOD MAINTENANCE RESPONSIBILITY WOULD BE THAT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S NATIONAL CAPITAL MEMORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE, ESTABLISHED UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ACT, HAS RECOMMENDED POLICY GUIDELINES APPLICABLE TO PROPOSALS FOR MEMORIALS ON PARK LANDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND ITS ENVIRONS. FOR MILITARY MEMORIALS, THE COMMITTEE'S POLICY IS THAT ONLY MILITARY MEMORIALS COMMEMORA-

TING ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES IDENTIFIED WITH A WAR OR OTHER SIGNIFICANT EVENT OR BRANCHES OF SERVICE OF THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED. THE RECENTLY COMPLETED VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL AND THE AUTHORIZED NAVY MEMORIAL ARE CONSISTENT WITH THAT POLICY.

IN AUTHORIZING THE NAVY MEMORIAL, CONGRESS STATED AS FOLLOWS (SEC. 113(A) of P.L. 96-199):

> "THE UNITED STATES NAVY MEMORIAL FOUNDATION IS AUTHORIZED TO ERECT A MEMORIAL ON PUBLIC GROUNDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN HONOR AND IN COMMEMORATION OF THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY WHO HAVE SERVED THEIR COUNTRY IN WAR AND PEACE."

THE LANGUAGE IS SIMILAR IN THE LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL (P.L. 96-297), WHEREIN THE CONGRESS AUTHORIZED THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL FUND, INC., TO ESTABLISH A MEMORIAL "IN HONOR AND RECOGNITION OF THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES WHO SERVED IN THE VIETNAM WAR."

NOT ONLY DO THE NAVY AND VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIALS REFLECT THE POLICY THAT FUTURE MILITARY MEMORIALS SHOULD COMMEMORATE ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, OR BRANCHES OF THE SERVICE, BUT THEY ALSO REPRESENT, SPECIFICALLY, "MEN AND WOMEN." TO THE EXTENT THAT S.J. RES. 156 PURPORTS TO CONFER ADDITIONAL RECOGNITION UPON WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE NAVY OR WHO ARE

VIETNAM VETERANS, IT IS DUPLICATIVE OF MEMORIALS ALREADY AUTHORIZED.

BECAUSE S.J. RES. 156 IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE POLICY ON MILITARY MEMORIALS ADOPTED BY THE SECRETARY'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE, IN THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSED COMMEMORATION, AND BECAUSE THE MEASURE WOULD DUPLICATE THE COMMEMORATIVE EFFECT OF TWO MEMORIALS ALREADY AUTHORIZED, WE RECOMMEND AGAINST ITS ENACTMENT.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much.

We have the next witness from the State Department, Mr. Roger Merrick, Deputy Director, North African Affairs, and we welcome you to the committee.

## STATEMENT OF ROGER B. MERRICK, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NORTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. **Merrick**. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to testify in support of the appropriateness of the United States Government accepting this gift from the Kingdom of Morroco.

I ask that my formal comments be entered in the record for the sake of saving time for this committee.

Senator **Murkowski**. They will be entered in the record.

Mr. **Merrick**. I would like to make a few summary remarks. King Hassan II of Morocco has made this generous offer. It is for a gift to commemorate 200 years of friendship and amity between the United States and Morocco.

Our founding fathers, in one of their first diplomatic acts and first treaties negotiated, was in negotiating a treaty of friendship with the Kingdom of Morocco. This was done by Jefferson and Adams through a counselor agent that they appointed, and this treaty was ratified in 1787. It is one of the—if not the—it is one of the longest continuing treaty relationships of the United States.

And since that time, we have had a warm and friendly relationship with the Kingdom of Morocco. We have a continuing high level of cooperation with Morocco, which is strategically important to the United States. The President has replied to this offer of King Hassan, thanking him for the offer, and promising that he will sign authorizing legislation if such legislation is approved by Congress.

The Department of State believes that we should accept this gesture of friendship from the King and Kingdom of Morocco.

That concludes my testimony.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Merrick follows:]

# STATEMENT MADE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

BY

ROGER B. MERRICK
DEPARTMENT OF STATE COUNTRY OFFICER FOR MOROCCO
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF NORTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Mister Chairman and members of the committee,

I thank you for the opportunity to testify. King Hassan II of Morocco has made a generous offer to the United States for a memorial to be erected in Washington. My testimony today concerns this gift by the Kingdom of Morocco and the proposed bill, S. 1379, authorizing its acceptance. The King wishes to commemorate 200 years of relations between the United States and Morocco. The King made this offer in a letter to President Reagan. The President replied thanking the King and promising that he will sign authorizing legislation if approved by Congress.

I would like to comment on the long history of excellent and warm relations between Morocco and the United States. Following the American Revolution, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams joined Benjamin Franklin in Europe to regularize American relations with the principal European countries. Jefferson and Adams appointed Thomas Barclay as Consular Agent and sent him to Morocco to negotiate a treaty of Amity and Commerce.

Barclay was subsequently received at Tangier, then the diplomatic capital of Morocco and began negotiations. The treaty was concluded and signed by Emperor Mohamed III of Morocco and ratified by the United States on July 18, 1787 to be in force for a period of 50 years. The treaty was renegotiated in 1836. The treaty relationship is still in force, constituting the longest continuing treaty relationship in United States history. It is also one of the first offical acts of recognition of the government of the United States.

Many events in the long association of the two countries have cemented the bonds of friendship. I note, for instance the gift of a property to the United States from Sultan Moulay Mohammed III in 1821 which was used as the site for our legation to Morocco. This building with its grounds is our only official National Historic Landmark outside the United States.

As the 1987 200th anniversary of our relationship with Morocco approaches, we are seeking ways to commemorate this event. The Kingdom of Morocco will issue a commemorative stamp in 1987 to mark the anniversary. The United States Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee will soon examine a proposal for a similar U.S. stamp.

King Hassan II's offer of a monument to be erected in our nation's capital is presented to commemorate this close and amicable historic relationship. King Hassan has stated that he was inspired to make this gesture to commemorate "centuries of History made of peace and friendship, and to perpetuate, for future generations, the faithfulness which our two Nations, American and Moroccan, have shown towards their principles and ideals, determined to defend them against any threat, whatever its source may be."

Mr. Chairman and honorable members of the committee, we strongly support the passage of S. 1379 authorizing acceptance of this thoughtful and appropriate gift. Such generosity of spirit is all too rare in this modern age; the King's hand of friendship is offered. By accepting this gift we reaffirm our recognition of that friendship.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much, Mr. Merrick.

We would like to have forwarded the results of the November 14 meeting of the National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee for the record to the subcommittee on S. 1379 and on S.J. Res. 143, and we will keep the record open until that time. We understand that you're going to address the question of the women's memorial or women veterans memorial at that meeting; is that right?

Mr. **Galvin**. That's correct, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Murkowski**. And also the black memorial as well.

Mr. **Galvin**. That's right.

Senator **Murkowski**. My question specifically is one of your position on funding. Representing the administration, you've heard the discussion that occurred between the Representatives and Senators with regard to the Denton-Armstrong position.

Do you feel comfortable that $5 million is a reasonable figure that the Korean Memorial would be built for?

Mr. **Galvin**. I can only rely on the amount of construction that it took to do the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which I believe the earlier testimony indicated was $3½ million. I believe that that would demonstrate that you can build a very impressive memorial for that sum of money.

Senator **Murkowski**. Recognizing your duty, if you will, because of your function to respond from the point of view of which the administration traditionally responds, which is to get it someplace else, what's your attitude toward an amount plus private sector contributions?

Mr. **Galvin**. Well, I believe I would maintain the position I stated in the testimony; that we believe the memorial can be constructed through the private donations route, as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was.

Senator **Murkowski**. But if Congress appropriated an amount, why obviously you'd have to live with it.

Mr. **Galvin**. Yes, sir. And as we pointed out, there are precedents for both approaches and mechanisms for working with either one.

Senator **Murkowski**. Well, often times we compromise these areas, and while the significance of a memorial to those who have given their lives in the Korean conflict is relatively insignificant monetarywise, the recommendation of the subcommittee in my opinion would be to make sure that the monument gets built as the major priority. If there are organizations that are willing to generate the solicitation of private funds, why that's fine, but I think it would be the obligation of the Congress to address the priority, and that's to see that it's built, as opposed to the reality of the funding, but I certainly understand where you're coming from and will be interested in hearing the balance of the witnesses on this particular point of the two bills by Armstrong and Denton, as well as the position enunciated by the Representatives as we try and address how we're going to get this thing done.

I assume that it's quite safe to say the administration does support a monument.

Mr. **Galvin**. Yes, sir.

[Subsequent to the hearing the subcommittee received the following:]

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
1100 OHIO DRIVE, S. W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20242

L30(NCR-LUCE)

27 NOV 1985

Memorandum

To: Director

From: Regional Director, National Capital Region

Subject: National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee Meeting

On November 14, 1985, the National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee met and reviewed the following legislative memorial proposals.

Since the last meeting of the Advisory Committee in 1984, the Secretary of the Interior invited the Secretary of Defense to join with the Advisory Committee on all matters which would pertain to military memorials. The Secretary of Defense shared in our concern and welcomed the opportunity to work with the National Park Service in the area of military memorials. At this meeting Mr. Steven Kleiman of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Manpower, Installation, and Logistics, was the designee for the Secretary of Defense.

The Committee adopted its revised criteria and guidelines that were published in the Federal Register on April 1, 1985. These guidelines have also been reviewed and approved by the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts.

1) H.J. Res. 167, Armored Force Memorial

In accordance with the policies adopted by the Committee and the Committee's revised criteria and guidelines concerning the placement of individual unit memorials in the Nation's Capital, the Committee recommended against enactment of the legislation. As previously determined by the Committee, it was still their recommendation that only military memorials honoring all members of the Armed Forces identified with a single event (i.e., Vietnam Veterans Memorial) or branches of service (Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Coast Guard) shall be placed on parklands in the Nation's Capital or its environs, and that consideration for such type memorials should be at the military establishments which are significant to their history.

2) S. 1107/H.R. 2440, 3rd Infantry Division Memorial

In accordance with the policies adopted by the Committee and the Committee's revised criteria and guidelines concerning the placement of individual unit memorials in the Nation's Capital, the Committee recommended against enactment of this legislation. As previously determined by the Committee, it was still their recommendation that only military memorials honoring all members of the Armed Forces identified with a single event (i.e., Vietnam Veterans Memorial) or branches of service (Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Coast Guard) shall be placed on parklands in the Nation's Capital or its environs, and that consideration for such type memorials should be at the military establishments which are significant to their history.

3) S.J. Res. 200, Glider Pilots Memorial

In accordance with the policies adopted by the Committee and the Committee's revised criteria and guidelines concerning the placement of individual unit memorials in the Nation's Capital, the Committee recommended against enactment of this legislation. As previously determined by the Committee, it was still their recommendation that only military memorials honoring all members of the Armed Forces identified with a single event (i.e., Vietnam Veterans Memorial) or branches of service (Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Coast Guard) shall be placed on parklands in the Nation's Capital or its environs, and that consideration for such type memorials should be at the military establishments which are significant to their history.

4) H.J. 36, S.J. Res. 156, Memorial to the Women who served in the Armed Forces of the United States

The Committee heard testimony from the sponsor of the legislation, the Honorable Mary Rose Oakar, and received endorsements from 25 Members of the House of Representatives. The Committee also heard testimony from representatives of 6 organizations. It was brought to the Committee's attention by the staff that, at hearings on October 29, 1985, before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserve Water, and Resource Conservation, this Department testified that the proposed legislation was not consistent with the policy on military memorials adopted by the Advisory Committee. At the time of the testimony the Committee had not met to review the specific legislation.

After hearing all of the above testimony and reviewing the proposal in the context of the Committee's Criteria and Guidelines, the Committee felt that the criteria and guidelines were silent on this specific type of memorial, and that the role of women who served in the Armed Forces is an important contribution to this country and its society. The Committee endorsed this legislation and requested that its support be recommended to the Secretary. As part of the Committee's review, they observed that on November 6, 1985, the House of Representatives unanimously passed H.J. Res. 36, authorizing the memorial. This resolution was silent concerning the role of the Secretary of the Interior as to site and design approval, certification of funds for the construction of the memorial, and responsibility for maintenance and care of the memorial after completion of construction. The Committee recommended that the legislation should be amended to include the role of the Secretary of the Interior.

5) S.J. Res. 184/S. 1223, Korean War Memorial

The Committee supported the concept of a Korean War Memorial and felt that it met all the conditions established in the guidelines and criteria for military memorials. However, it deferred to the Congress as to which proposal (S.J. Res. 184 or S. 1223) should be authorized. In hearings on October 29, 1985, before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands Reserve Water and Resource Conservation, this Department testified in support of S.J. Res. 184, which would authorize the Korean War Memorial, Inc., (a non-profit organization) to construct the memorial.

As part of the Committee's review, they observed that on November 6, 1985, the House of Representatives unanimously passed H.R. 2205, which would authorize the American Battle Monuments Commission to construct the memorial. This resolution was silent concerning the role of the Secretary of the Interior as to site and design approval, certification of funds for construction of the memorial, and responsibility for maintenance and care of the memorial after completion of construction. The Committee recommended that the legislation should be amended to include the role of the Secretary of the Interior.

6) H.R. 77, General Mihailovich Memorial

The Committee concurred in the Department's report which deferred to the Department of State with regard to the suitability of establishing such a memorial.

7) H.J. Res. 142/S.J. Res. 143, Black Revolutionary War Patriots Memorial in Constitution Gardens

After hearing the testimony from the Foundation which would be authorized to build the memorial, the Committee unanimously recommended favorably on this proposed legislation and complimented the Foundation testifying on an excellent presentation. They felt that the proposed memorial fell within the guidelines and criteria established for memorials to be located in the Nation's Capital. It was brought to the Committee's attention that, at hearings on October 29, 1985, before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserve Water, and Resource Conservation, this Department testified that this proposal should be deferred until the Advisory Committee met, and that it was on the agenda of the Committee for its meeting on November 14, 1985. As part of the Committee's review, they observed that on November 6, 1985, the House of Representatives passed H.J. Res. 142 authorizing the memorial. This resolution was silent concerning the role of the Secretary of the Interior as to site and design approval, certification of funds for the construction of the memorial, and responsibility for maintenance and care of the memorial after completion of construction. The Committee recommended that the legislation should be amended to include the role of the Secretary of the Interior. Also, the Committee was pleased to note that the site specificity had been eliminated from the legislation passed by the House of Representatives.

8) H.R. 2601, Haym Salomon Memorial

It was brought to the Committee's attention that on June 23, 1936, (49 Stat. 1895) authorization for the erection of such a memorial had been enacted. After reviewing the legislation, the Committee felt that sufficient authority exists to erect such a memorial in the Nation's Capital. The Committee recommended that the sponsors of the legislation (H.R. 2601) be so notified.

9) S. 961/H.R. 2457, Martin Luther King Memorial

The Committee received testimony from the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, sponsors of the legislation, and accepted testimony from the staff of Senator Paul Sarbanes, sponsor of the memorial legislation. The Committee unanimously endorsed the proposed legislation which they felt met the guidelines and criteria for memorializations of national or international significance.

10) H.R. 2887/H.R. 1370/S. 1379, Monument Gift of the Kingdom of Morocco

The Committee received testimony from the Press Counselor of the Embassy of Morocco which outlined the memorial gift to the people of the United States from King Hassan in recognition of 200 years of Moroccan-American friendship. A telegram from President Ronald Reagan to the King was brought to the Committee's attention, whereby the President indicated to the King that if the Congress passes the proposed legislation, it would be his pleasure to sign the bill into law. It was brought to the Committee's attention that, at hearings on October 29, 1985, before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserve Water, and Resource Conservation, this Department testified that this proposal was on the agenda of the Advisory Committee for its meeting on November 14, 1985, and asked that action be deferred until the Committee has had opportunity to review the proposal. The Committee unanimously recommended favorably to this proposed memorial gift, and felt that a memorial to peace and friendship was most fitting for placement in the Nation's Capital.

11) H.J. Res. 435, Francis Scott Key Memorial

The Committee received testimony from the Francis Scott Key Park Foundation, Inc., and reveiwed a video film of the proposal. The Committee unanimously recommended favorably to the proposed legislation honoring the composer of our National Anthem, and felt that a memorial located in the vicinity of his home would be most appropriate. However, after reviewing H.J. Res. 435, the Committee observed that resolution was silent concerning the role of the Secretary of the Interior as to site and design approval, certification of funds for the construction of the memorial and responsibility for maintenance and care of the memorial after completion of construction. The Committee recommended that the legislation should be amended to include the role of the Secretary of the Interior.

12) Naming of a Park in Honor of Julius Hobson

The Committee postponed hearing testimony on this proposal by the sponsors for naming the park until our staff could research alternative sites on District of Columbia lands. The Committee will receive such testimony at its next meeting.

The Committee scheduled its next meeting for December 19, 1985. 1:00 p.m., Room 234, National Capital Region Headquarters, 1100 Ohio Dri[illegible], S.W., Washington, D.C., 20240. The purpose of the meeting will be to review and amend, if necessary, the Committee's criteria and guidelines concerning memorialization of historic figures; foreign donated memorials; provisions that planning, design, and construction costs of all memorials be borne entirely by non-Federal entities; and that the cost to the Federal Government for the operation and maintenance of monuments or memorials be partially offset by non-Federal funds. The Committee will also discuss criteria for the placing of commemorative plaques and the recognition of donors' participation and/or contributions to the funding of memorials.

Jack Fish

Senator **Murkowski**. Mr. Merrick, will you forward your testimony to the National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee before their November 14 meeting and consideration?

Mr. **Merrick**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you, gentlemen. I would excuse you as witnesses, and we will proceed.

Our next witness is from the Embassy of Morocco, the press counselor, Mr. Nacif. And I have intentionally not addressed you by your first name, because I knew that I would not pronounce it correctly. So if you would care to introduce yourself by your first name, maybe I can remember.

Mr. **Nacif**. Abdellatif Nacif.

Senator **Murkowski**. I see. Did you all get that?

All right, please proceed.

## STATEMENT OF ABDELLATIF NACIF, PRESS COUNSELOR, EMBASSY OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

Mr. **Nacif**. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, it is my great honor to appear today——

Senator **Murkowski**. I wonder if you could speak into the microphone. Pull it right up to you.

No; I wonder if one of the staff could just bring it right up there. Thank you.

Mr. **Nacif**. It is my great honor to appear today before your subcommittee on behalf of the Kingdom of Morocco and His Majesty. I am especially pleased for this opportunity to comment on S. 1379, a measure introduced by the chairman of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Senator McClure.

This legislation will authorize the placement on public grounds here in Washington of a monument which is being given to the American people as a gift of the people of Morocco.

Mr. Chairman, our Ambassador, Maati Jorio, who is unavoidably not in Washington today, has previously submitted a statement to the subcommittee which sets forth in detail why His Majesty King Hassan II has chosen to make this gift.

If I may, rather than take the subcommittee's time by repeating the contents of that letter, I would like to state briefly what makes the relationship between our two countries so unique and therefore justifies the erection of a monument to United States-Moroccan relations.

On December 20, 1770, Morocco became the first Nation to recognize the newly independent United States of America. Recognition came in the form of a letter written to all foreign consuls in Morocco on behalf of Sultan Sidi Muhammad bin Abdallah; in this letter, the Sultan said he had instructed his naval vessels to respect and protect the commerce of foreign ships, including the ships of the American colonies. This proved, of course, to be of great benefit to American shipping during the Revolution.

After the Revolution, the United States completed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Morocco that was ratified and brought into force on July 18, 1787. This treaty of peace and friendship was so comprehensive that its basic provisions were reaffirmed in 1837 and have been sustained through today, making it the longest standing unbroken treaty that the United States has had with any nation.

President Washington, in his response to Emperor Mohamed III's expression of amity and support said:

> Within our territories there are no mines either of gold or silver, and this young nation just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, has not, as yet, had time to acquire riches by agriculture and commerce. But our soil is bountiful and our people industrious, and we have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall gradually become useful to our friends.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, the year 1987 will mark the bicentennial anniversary of America's oldest existing treaty relationship. Yet, it is far more than the historical significance of our bilateral relationship which has prompted His Majesty to make this gift. It is also the special nature of our ties with the contemporary world which finds expression in the following:

America and Morocco have had to see their blood mingled on battlefields of two World Wars. Following World War II, American sympathies and support for the restoration of Moroccan independence was deeply appreciated by the Moroccan national movement.

Second, the shared United States-Moroccan commitment to protecting democracy and freedom throughout the world is exemplified by the construction of a new Voice of America station in Tangier, which, when complete, will be the largest radio station in the non-Communist world.

Third, United States-Moroccan cooperation has increased in the last several years. In May 1982 the two Governments concluded a transit agreement that allows United States military planes to use Moroccan bases during emergencies.

Fourth, Moroccan ports have generally been open to visits of your 6th Fleet for a number of years, as to free movement of U.S. nuclear armed ships.

Fifth, Morocco and the United States tend to line up on the same side of a broad spectrum of international issues. Morocco, for instance, has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It has opposed the spread of Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa and in so doing has gone beyond official pronouncements and votes.

Morocco has been and continues to be a voice of moderation within the various international and regional forums, particularly the Arab League and the Islamic Conference.

Almost alone in the Arab world, Morocco has taken concrete steps to improve relations with the Jewish community, both within the country and abroad.

In a recent letter to President Reagan, His Majesty noted that over the past two centuries, our relations have been marked by "the most sincere and deepest friendship, itself founded solely on a shared dedication to the lofty values and noble principles of peace, justice, and liberty." His Majesty stated further that he was "inspired with the idea of erecting, in Washington City, a memorial to commemorate centuries of history made of peace and friendship, and to perpetuate for future generations, the faithfulness which our two nations, America and Morocco, have shown toward their principles and ideas, determined to defend them against any threat, whatever the source may be."

In Morocco, the 1987 Bicentennial shall be an occasion for lively celebration. His Majesty has directed that a special postage stamp be struck, commemorating the Bicentennial, and we are hopeful your Postal Service will join us in a joint commemorative issue. We have also commenced plans for the creation of a United States-Morocco Bicentennial Commission, to be composed of prominent American and Moroccan individuals with intimate knowledge of and respect for each other's countries. This Commission will be charged with planning a Bicentennial Program which includes cultural and artistic exchanges, trade and investment projects, and, of course, dedication of the monument to United States-Moroccan relations itself. A continuous good and friendly relationship spanning 200 years is rare in diplomatic history, and it is most appropriate to join in memorializing this relationship in a manner which will communicate its importance to our respective people.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Nacif, with attachments, follow:]

STATEMENT BY ABDELLATIF NACIF
PRESS COUNSELOR
EMBASSY OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

ON S. 1379

OCTOBER 29, 1985

Mr. Chairman:

It is my great honor to appear today before your Subcommittee on behalf of the Kingdom of Morocco and His Majesty, King Hassan II. I am especially pleased for this opportunity to comment on S. 1379, a measure introduced by the Chairman of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Senator McClure. This legislation will authorize the placement on public grounds here in Washington of a monument which is being given to the American people as a gift of the people of Morocco.

Mr. Chairman, our Ambassador, Maati Jorio, who is unavoidably not in Washington today, has previously submitted a statement to the Subcommittee which sets forth in detail why His Majesty King Hassan II has chosen to make this gift. If I may, rather than take the Subcommittee's time by repeating the contents of that letter, I would like to state briefly what makes the relationship between our two countries so unique, and thereby justifies the erection of a monument to U.S.-Moroccan relations.

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After your Revolution, the United States concluded a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Morocco that was ratified and brought into force on July 18, 1787. This Treaty of Peace and Friendship was so comprehensive that its basic provisions were reaffirmed in 1837 and have been sustained through today, making it the longest-standing unbroken treaty that the U.S. has had with any nation.

President Washington, in his response to Emperor Mohamed III's expression of amity and support, said: "Within our territories there are no mines either of gold or silver, and this young nation just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, has not, as yet, had time to acquire riches by agriculture and commerce. But our soil is bountiful and our people industrious, and we have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall gradually become useful to our friends."

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, the year 1987 will mark the bicentennial anniversary of America's oldest existing treaty relationship. Yet, it is far more than the historical significance of our bilateral relationship which has prompted His Majesty King Hassan II to make this gift. It is also the special nature of our ties today.

- America and Morocco have had to see their blood mingled on the battlefields of two world wars. Following World War II, American sympathies and support for the restoration of Moroccan independence was deeply appreciated by the Moroccan national movement.

- The shared U.S.-Moroccan commitment to protecting democracy and freedom throughout the world is exemplified by the construction of the new Voice of America station in Tangier, which, when complete, will be the largest relay station in the non-Communist world.

- U.S.-Moroccan cooperation has increased in the last several years. In May 1982 the two governments concluded a transit agreement that allows U.S. military planes to use Moroccan bases during emergencies.

- Moroccan ports have generally been open to visits of your Sixth Fleet for a number of years, as well as to free movement for U.S. nuclear armed ships.

- Morocco and the U.S. tend to line up on the same side of a broad spectrum of international issues. Morocco, for instance, has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; it has opposed the spread of Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa and in so doing has gone beyond official pronouncements and votes.

- Morocco has been and continues to be a voice of moderation within the various international and regional forums, particularly the Arab League and the Islamic Conference.

- Almost alone in the Arab World, Morocco has taken concrete steps to improve relations with the Jewish Community, both within the country and abroad.

In a recent letter to President Reagan, His Majesty noted that over the past two centuries our relations have been marked with "the most sincere and deepest friendship, itself founded solely on a shared dedication to the lofty values and noble principles of peace, justice and liberty." His Majesty stated further that he was "inspired with the idea of erecting, in Washington City, a memorial to commemorate centuries of history made of peace and friendship, and to perpetuate for future generations, the faithfulness which our two nations, America and Morocco, have shown towards their principles and ideals, determined to defend them against any threat, whatever the source may be."

In Morocco, the 1987 Bicentennial shall be an occasion for lively celebration. His Majesty has directed that a special postage stamp be struck commemorating the Bicentennial, and we are hopeful your Postal Service will join us in a joint commemorative issue. We have also commenced plans for the creation of a U.S.-Morocco Bicentennial Commission, to be composed of prominent American and Moroccan individuals with intimate knowledge of and respect for each other's countries. This Commission will be charged with planning a Bicentennial Program which includes cultural and artistic exchanges, trade and investment projects, and, of course, the dedication of the monument to U.S.-Moroccan relations itself. A continuous good and friendly relationship spanning two hundred years is rare in diplomatic history, and it is most appropriate to join in memorializing this relationship in a manner which will communicate its importance to our respective peoples.

Thank you very much.

The Ambassador of Morocco

October 17, 1985

The Honorable
Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands,
Reserved Water, and Resource Conservation
Room 308
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

As the Ambassador of Morocco to the United States of America, I am honored to write to you regarding S.1379, authorizing the placement of a monument given to the American people as a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco, on Federal land in the District of Columbia. I appreciate Senator McClure's gracious introduction of this legislation and your subcommittee's response to His Majesty King Hassan's offer to commemorate in this fashion the long and venerable good relations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the United States.

In a recent letter to President Reagan about this gift, His Majesty cited the fact of Morocco's earliest recognition of the United States as an independent nation. His Majesty noted since that time, the relations between our two countries have been marked "with the most sincere and deepest friendship, itself founded solely on a shared dedication to the lofty values and noble principles of peace, justice and liberty....Men, as well as nations often need some landmarks and concrete signs to bring about the materialization and the embodiment of the message." His Majesty stated that he was "inspired with the idea of erecting, in Washington City, a memorial to commemorate centuries of History made of peace and friendship, and to perpetuate, for future generations, the faithfulness which our two Nations, American and Moroccan, have shown towards their principles and ideals, determined to defend them against any threat, whatever its source may be."

It is indeed a pleasure to take part in the realization of His Majesty King Hassan II's vision, a tangible memorial to the two centuries of close and friendly relations between the United States and Morocco. A continuous good and friendly relationship spanning 200 years is rare in diplomatic history, and it is most appropriate that we join in memorializing this relationship in a manner which will communicate its importance to our respective peoples.

I would like briefly to recall the events of almost 210 years ago which laid the foundation for our longstanding close friendship. Sidi Mohammed III, Sultan of Morocco during the American Revolution, was interested in expanding Moroccan relationships and trade particularly with the European powers. In 1767, he gave most-favored-nation status to France and permitted her to establish consular posts in Morocco. The problems of the use of the seas, such as piracy, safety of navigation and provisionment of ships, were at the time a priority concern for nations, particularly those dependent upon trade. Protection of shipping was one service which the American colonies depended upon the British Navy to provide. Thus, the Sultan realized once the American Revolution began that America's ships had lost the protection of the British.

In late 1775, Morocco made preparations for an agreement along the lines of a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation. It is said that the Sultan reviewed the list of European countries who were to join in the treaty, and asked if the Americans, then in revolt against the British, should not be added to the list of those who might use Moroccan ports and conduct business. The American colonies were thereupon handwritten onto the list. This proved to be of great benefit to American shipping during the Revolution.

Thus began a pattern of American commerce to the Mediterranean and Southern Europe lasting through the 19th century.

After the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin was joined in Europe by Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who sought to regularize American relations with the principal European countries. Jefferson and Adams appointed Thomas Barclay as Consular Agent to conclude a treaty of Amity and Commerce with Morocco. Barclay was received at Tangier, the diplomatic capital of Morocco, and negotiations began on a treaty. This treaty was concluded and signed by the Sultan on June 28, 1786; whereupon it was reviewed by Jefferson and Adams and transmitted to the United States. It was ratified and brought into force on July 18, 1787. By the Treaty, America and Morocco agreed to maintain peaceful relations and not to aid the enemies of each other. The protection of each country's citizens in the other was guaranteed, and the right to enter and depart one another's country without interruption was granted.

Full provisions were made for shipping and for reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment of commerce. American consuls were given the right to represent the United States and its citizens in Morocco. This agreement was so complete and so comprehensive that its basic provisions were reaffirmed in 1837 and have been sustained through today, making it the oldest such ongoing relationship between the United States and any other nation.

In August of 1788, the Emperor Mohammed III wrote to the American Congress to acknowledge the receipt of the ratified Treaty, confirmed the state of amity existing between the two governments and promised, with the help of God, to intercede with Tunis and Tripoli and to accomplish all that had been asked for. This letter arrived in the United States at a time when the American Confederation was being dissolved and a new Constitution adopted. In 1789, George Washington, who had taken office as "the Supreme Executive Authority" of the nation, replied to the Emperor citing the reorganization of the American Government as the reason for delay of his response.

In his letter, President Washington said, "Within our territories there are no mines either of gold or silver, and this young nation just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, have not, as yet had time to acquire riches by agriculture and commerce. But our soil is bountiful, and our people industrious, and we have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall gradually become useful to our friends. The encouragement your Majesty has been pleased, generously to give... make(s) a deep impression on the United States and confirm(s) their respect for, and attachment to your Imperial Majesty." President Washington concluded by saying that the "national legislature" would meet for the first time the next year, "and I shall take care that nothing be omitted that may be beneficial to cause the correspondence between our two countries to be maintained and conducted in a manner agreeable to your Majesty, and satisfactory to all the parties concerned in it."

There are many occasions in which our subsequent conduct toward one another has exemplified the spirit of this Treaty of 1787. In 1791, the United States officially opened a Consulate in Tangier, Morocco. One of the pressing problems of the day continued to be the protection of shipping in the Mediterranean. The Consulate played an important role in respect to American shipping. During this period, Tangier remained one of the principal ports available to American shipping and to the American Navy.

In 1821, Sultan Mulay Suleiman gave the United States a building in Tangier to serve as its Consulate. This building, which over the years has been expanded into a complex of buildings as the diplomatic representation between the two countries was upgraded, remained the Legation of the United States until 1956, when Morocco's diplomatic capital was transferred to Rabat. It remains the oldest U.S. diplomatic property in the world, and has been designated an American National Historic Landmark. It is now operated as a Museum with historical exhibits, a library devoted to Moroccan-American relations, and various educational programs.

The Civil War in the United States had its repercussions in Tangier, where both Union and Confederate ships called at port. As the Federal domination of the seas grew, the port was closed to Confederate ships. The Moroccan government cooperated with the American Navy in the collection and removal of Confederate prisoners of war.

Commencing around 1860 many European powers, primarily England, France, Spain, and Germany began to seek colonial expansion in Africa. In a brief war in 1860, Spain took over the territory of Ifni. The United States, which was just becoming an international power as the European nations were pressing for special concessions in Morocco, took in due course a stand for an independent Morocco. At the Madrid Conference of 1880, the position supported by the United States prevailed and the resulting Treaty of Madrid confirmed the independence of Morocco. At the Algeciras Conference in 1907 the United States once again worked for an open door policy and independence for Morocco. The Act of Algeciras, concluded at the conference, again reaffirmed Moroccan independence.

Subsequently, military action by France led to the conclusion of a 1912 treaty between the French and Moroccan governments at Fes, establishing a French protectorate of Morocco but retaining a national rather than colonial status for Morocco. The United States reserved its position with respect to this treaty and continued to relate to Morocco as a national entity. This position culminated in an American action in the World Court against the French government in the early 1950's, seeking greater direct American access to Morocco.

World War II began a new era of close collaboration in Moroccan-American relations. With the defeat of France, German forces moved into much of North Africa. Pressures were brought to bear upon Morocco to accept the German presence, but Sultan Mohammed V refused to accept German representation, protected Morocco's substantial minority populations, and resisted German encroachments. The United States was alarmed at the uncertainties inherent in the North African situation and realized that a precondition to the liberation of Europe was to remove the German threat there. It quickly built up its diplomatic representation in Morocco so to gain a more precise and comprehensive understanding of the situation. It was at the American Legation in Tangier that the newly-formed American Intelligence Service began its first major effort: to make preparations for the landings in North Africa led by General Eisenhower.

Sultan Mohammed V withheld support from the pro-Vichy French Pesident General when he attempted to resist the American landings. This was the first American military operation in the Western theater and laid the groundwork for the landings in Europe. Morocco was then free to adopt the cause of the Allies, and participated in the military defeat of Germany, fighting together on battlefields in North Africa, Italy, and Southern France. As His Majesty King Hassan's letter states, "America and Morocco have had to see their blood mingled on the battlefields."

In 1943 at Casablanca, President Franklin Roosevelt met with Sultan Mohammed V and held conversations which the Sultan interpreted as sympathetic to the restoration of Moroccan independence. Subsequent American correspondence encouraged the Sultan in his efforts to achieve independence.

With the onset of the Cold War closely followed by the hostilities in Korea, Moroccan troops again fought alongside Americans. The need to meet strategic requirements in these times led to the establishment of American bases in Morocco. Thousands of Americans came to live in Morocco and to forge close personal ties with thousands of Moroccans. These military bases have also made a major contribution to the Moroccan infrastructure.

Today, cooperation and collaboration between our two countries continues in the commercial, political, scientific, military, communications and educational fields. While each feels understandably free to pursue its own national objectives and requirements, there remains a large common identity of ideals and principles underlying our friendship and outlook.

It is therefore a high honor to represent His Majesty King Hassan II in this great country. As His Majesty indicates, it would be most fitting for our enduring and mutually beneficial friendship to be memorialized here in Washington for all to see and contemplate.

Please accept this expression of my highest esteem and consideration.

Cordially,

Maati Jorio

GRAY AND COMPANY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
October 29, 1985

Contact: Peter Segall
(202) 333-7400

## PROMINENT AMERICANS PRAISE US-MOROCCO RELATIONS DURING SENATE HEARINGS ON MOROCCAN MONUMENT LEGISLATION

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29—The first nation to recognize the United States of America more than two centuries ago remains one of our most active and strategically important allies, a Senate panel was told today during hearings on legislation to erect a monument in tribute to U.S.-Moroccan relations.

A string of prominent Americans, including the present U.S. Ambassador to Morocco and two past ones, sent statements to the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water, and Resource Conservation, offering strong support for the measure (S. 1379), which would authorize public land in Washington to be set aside for the monument. The bill's sponsor is the parent Energy and Natural Resources Committee Chairman, James A. McClure (R-ID).

The monument itself is a gift to the American people from Moroccan King Hassan II, commemorating what in 1987 will be the 200th anniversary of the U.S.-Morocco Treaty of Peace and Friendship. This treaty, whose basic provisions remain in effect, is the oldest such accord between the United States and any nation.

- more -

"Morocco's recognition in 1777 of a fledgling nation called the United States of America was both a noble action and a bold act," said a statement by Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke, a former Moroccan envoy who now heads the Moroccan-American Foundation in New York.

Deputy United Nations Ambassador Joseph Verner Reed, another former U.S. Ambassador to Morocco, said in an article included with his statement to the panel that "the long-term relationship between the United States and Morocco falls into the 'vital' category." "For the United States, the benefits of this relationship are incalculable, Reed continued. "They range from our joint use of Moroccan military bases and ports for exercises and unilateral use in case of need to the construction on Moroccan soil of the Voice of America's largest transmitting station."

Current U.S. Ambassador Thomas A. Nassif referred to the 200 years of Moroccan-American friendship as "a truly amazing record in the history not only of our nation but in the history of international relations as well." Nassif noted that Moroccan King Hassan II's moderating role in many Arab forums and "his willingness to take initiatives for peace have made him a respected voice for negotiation and conciliation in international affairs."

A spokesman for the Moroccan Embassy in Washington, Abedellatif Nacif, said his country intends to make the 1987 bicentennial "an occasion for lively celebration," with a program of cultural and artistic exchanges and trade and investment projects, Nacif said. King Hassan has written President Reagan that he was "inspired with the idea of erecting, in Washington City, a memorial to commemorate centuries of history made of peace and friendship, and to perpetuate for future generations, the faithfulness which our two nations, America and Morocco, have shown towards their principles and ideals, determined to defend them against any threat, whatever the source may be."

# # # #

Non official translation

The President of the United States of America
Mr. Ronald REAGAN
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President and Great Friend:

It is such an honor for Morocco to have been among the first countries, if not the first one, to recognize the United States of America as an independent and sovereign Nation.

No one then could predict the consequences of such a happening or appreciate the exact magnitude of its impact; yet, ever since, it has fortunately marked the relations between our two countries with the most sincere and deepest friendship, itself founded solely on a shared dedication to the lofty values and noble principles of peace, justice and liberty.

Later in the course of history, America and Morocco have had to see their blood mingled on battlefields, so that such values and principles may persist, and that their benefits may reach each and everyone, or at least the largest number possible.

Indeed, the journey is still long and the road strewn with surpris and obstacles. However, it is still Our conviction that the ideals we share will, in the end, prevail, as they happen to be those of men and nations defending them, while profoundly and firmly convinced that their struggle is the noblest, the most just and most dignified one.

Yet, men as well as nations often need some landmarks and concrete signs to bring about the materialization and the embodiment of the message.

Thus have We been inspired with the idea of erecting, in Washington City, a memorial to commemorate centuries of History made of peace and friendship, and to perpetuate, for future generations, the faithfulness which our two Nations, American and Moroccan, have shown towards their principles and ideals, determined to defend them against any threat, whatever its source may be.

Moved by the same desire We feel in seeking to promote and reinforce the American-Moroccan friendship, some eminent American citizens who happen to know of the project, have already approached the relevant departments to pave the way for the implementation stage.

Because of the esteem, the special consideration and the feelings of friendship We have for You personally, Mr. President, and which We believe to be reciprocal, We are left with the hope that You will give Your instructions to the effect of allowing the project to be carried out in the best conditions.

Our pride and that of Our People will further be enhanced by the fact that the project will have been materialized during Your term of office which is marked by the wisdom, the sagacity and the determination You have show in conducting the destiny of the Nation that contributes most to the shaping and the orientation of contemporary history, as well as, no doubt, that of future generations.

Please accept, Mr President and Great Friend, the expression of Our highest esteem and consideration.

Your true Friend

HASSAN II
King of Morocco

Done at the Royal Palace in Rabat,
on Friday the 27th Du Al Hejja 1405
corresponding to the 13th of
September 1985

## STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR NASSIF
## TO THE
## SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER, AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

Mr. Chairman:

Your Committee is considering the erection of a monument to celebrate 200 years of Moroccan-American friendship, a truly amazing record in the history not only of our nation but in the history of international relations as well.

Moroccan-American friendship, which this monument seeks to commemorate, remains a strong and dependable factor in our relations not only with the countries of the Maghreb but with those of the Middle East as well.

The construction of a new VOA station in Tangier, which when it is completed will be the largest relay station in the non-Communist world, the large scale program of joint military exercises, and the concluding of a number of agreements to promote bilateral trade and investment, bear remarkable witness to the fact that Morocco and the United States have made the determination that strengthening our relations is in the national interest of both our nations.

Morocco's strategic location on the southern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar combined with its long coastlines on both the Atlantic and Mediterranean seaboards make it of supreme strategic importance, not only to the United States but to our European allies as well. In addition, King Hassan's moderating role in Arab and Islamic Councils, his Chairmanship of the Jerusalem Committee, and his willingness to take initiatives for peace have made him a respected voice for negotiation and conciliation in international affairs.

The people of our two nations are today perpetuating a crucial and historic relationship. This monument will be an appropriate memorial and tribute to the past and future of this friendship.

Joseph Verner Reed
Ambassador of the United States of America

October 2, 1985

Dear Senator Wallop,

1987 will mark the 200th anniversary of the landmark Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States and the Kingdom of Morocco.

It is my understanding that in recognition of this milestone anniversary his Majesty King Hassan II is presenting to the American People a monument to U.S. -Moroccan "Peace and Friendship'. I know Senator James McClure was instrumental in introducing legislation (S. 1379) and I understand that hearings may be held.

I had the honor and privilege to serve our President from 1981 until June of this year as our nation's envoy to the Court of the Alaouites. Morocco is certainly one of Washington's friends and rather than my going into a lengthy disertation in this letter, I am enclosing an article that I wrote for the Greenwich Time which combines the importance of Morocco and of our relationship to that strategic friend. I would like to have this inserted in the official record. I would be pleased to testify at the hearings and stand ready by should I be called.

Cordially,

Joseph Verner Reed

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop

Moroccan-American Foundation

October 15, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water
  and Resource Conservation
Room 308, Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As the President of the Moroccan-American Foundation and as President Carter's Ambassador to Morocco, I would like to offer my support for legislation pending before your Subcommittee (S.1379) which would authorize placement of a monument to U.S.-Morocco relations on federal grounds here in Washington. I feel that such a monument commemorating 200 years of Moroccan-American relations is an appropriate manner in which to honor the importance of those ties.

Morocco's recognition in 1777 of a fledgling nation called the United States of America was both a noble action and a bold act. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship proclaimed in 1787 gave timely credibility to our sovereign status as we emerged from the difficulties of the Revolutionary War to become a new power on the world stage.

President George Washington and other Founding Fathers were thus given reassurance that their reluctant, yet necessary severance from Great Britain would not meet with universal condemnation. Since that date, the Kingdom has remained a special friend and valued ally of our nation.

My service as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco from 1979-1981 only confirms my warm feelings toward its people, culture and leaders. The desire of His Majesty King Hassan II to commemorate that signal event by the gift of a monument to be placed in our Nation's Capital has my heartiest support and strongest endorsement.

Respectfully submitted,

Angier Biddle Duke
President and Chief Executive Officer
Moroccan-American Foundation

RICHARD B. STONE
ATTORNEY

As a member of the Moroccan/American Foundation's Executive Board and a long-time friend of the Kingdom of Morocco, may I submit this statement in support of S. 1379.

The gift of a monument by Morocco to the people of the United States symbolizes to me not only the 200th anniversary of peace and cooperation between the United States and the Kingdom of Morocco but also the moderation and constructive purpose of the policy of Morocco in today's world. Morocco stands at the crossroads geographically and in all other ways as well, connecting Europe and the West with Africa and the Middle East. Therefore, Senator McClure's bill is timely as well as symbolic.

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DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE

PORTLAND
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97207
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September 25, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop
Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water,
and Resource Conservation
Room 308
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

I am a specialist on North African politics and international relations, with a particular focus on Morocco and that country's foreign relations. I have followed Moroccan affairs for twenty years, and I wrote my Ph.D. thesis on Morocco. Since 1971, I have written a book and some twenty articles that deal in whole or in part with Morocco. My work has included both academic scholarship and teaching and a tour of duty in Washington as a foreign affairs analyst for North Africa at the Department of State from 1975 to 1977.

I am writing to request that a statement of my views be included in the record of your hearings on S.1379 for the reasons presented in the following paragraphs. I would like to urge enactment of this legislation authorizing placement of a monument to U.S.-Moroccan relations.

Contemporary relations between the U.S. and the Kingdom of Morocco are quite good, These relations have not been compromised in any significant way by Morocco's signature of a treaty of union with Libya in August 1984. That treaty has not affected the interests which the U.S. has in Morocco. These interests derive from two basic factors: Morocco's strategic geographic location at the western end of the Mediterranean Sea and the Kingdom's moderate orientation in regional and world affairs. The combination of these two factors is the basis of an important community of interests shared by the U.S. and Morocco.

Morocco controls the southern approach to the Strait of Gibraltar, a fact that is often taken for granted in the West. Because of the Kingdom's strategic position at the mouth of the Mediterranean, the U.S. has a vested interest in a friendly government in Morocco. Fortunately for the U.S., the government of King Hassan II is quite friendly to us, and military cooperation between the two countries has increased in important ways during the last several years. In May 1982, the U.S. and Morocco concluded an agreement that allows American military planes to use two Moroccan air bases during emergencies in the Middle East and Africa. That same year, the two countries set up a joint military commission, that met most recently in Washington in July. Moroccan ports have been generally open to visits by ships of our Sixth Fleet for a number of years. In addition, Morocco allows the U.S. free movement for nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships in and out of its ports. Since the establishment of the joint military commission in 1982, U.S. and Moroccan forces have held joint maneuvers. In April 1983, for example, Moroccan forces engaged in joint exercises with aircraft from U.S. Navy units based in Europe. Subsequent joint military drills were held in the summer of 1984 and January 1985.

In addition to this important military cooperation, Morocco and the U.S. tend to line up on the same side of a broad spectrum of international political issues. Morocco has consistently condemned, for example, the Soviet Union's brutal 1979 invasion of Muslim Afghanistan. Morocco and the U.S. share much the same assessment of the destabilizing potental in Africa of the Soviet Union and Cuba. Morocco's opposition to the spread of Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa has gone beyond official pronouncements and votes in international forums. Morocco has supplied training and weapons to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the moderate faction that continues to contest the control of the Cuban-backed Marxist government (the MPLA) in Angola. In both April 1977 and May 1978, King Hassan dispatched fifteen hundred Moroccan troops who proved effective in helping to repel invasisons of Zaire's mineral-rich Shaba province by Angola-based rebels.

Our government values Morocco's pragmatic approach to Middle East issues and its commitment to a negotiated solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. King Hassan was quite supportive, at least initially, of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's peace initiative. Morocco hosted a secret meeting in September 1977 between Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Hassan Tuhami that helped pave the way for Sadat's historic trip to Jerusalem two months later. King Hassan received Sadat in Morocco following the 1978 Camp David negotiations. Morocco then supported the Camp David accords before falling in line with the general Arab condemnation of the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

In our government's view, King Hassan has worked constructively in his capacities as chairman of the Arab summit, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and, since 1979, the OIC's Higher Committee for the Liberation of Jerusalem. At the Arab League summit that he chaired in September 1982, for example, King Hassan played an important role in the summit's adoption of the Fez Charter, the first comprehinsive Arab peace plan, which implicitly recognized Israel's right to exist. At the OIC summit meeting in Casablanca in January 1984, King Hassan lobbied, successfully, for the readmission of Egypt--an important ally of the U.S.--to the Islamic grouping. And in August of this year, Hassan presided over the readmission of Egypt to the Arab Sports Union, in a tentative move toward welcoming Egypt back into full membership in the Arab League.

Almost alone in the Arab world, Morocco has taken concrete steps to improve relations with the Jewish community both within the country and abroad. King Hassan has made clear his determination to provide protection to Moroccan Jews during Arab-Israeli crises. The Moroccan Government has encouraged any Jews of Moroccan origin who want to return from Israel to do so. In May 1984, the Moroccan Government received a high-level delegations of 35 Israelis, including 11 members of parliament, to attend a congress of Jews of Moroccan origin. This marked the first time since the founding of the Jewish state in 1948 that an Arab state other than Egypt has received an official Israeli delegation. And in 1985, the King allowed Moroccan Jews to take the initiative in organizing a world conference of Jews, to be held outside of Morocco sometime in 1986.

Sincerely,

John Damis

John Damis
Professor

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

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Telephone (804) 440-4419 • Telex 823-428 OLD DOM NFK

September 23, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water, and
Resource Conservation
Room 308
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop,

I am a specialist in North African history and have been engaged in a research project on Moroccan-American relations since 1971. I would like to have a statement of my views included in the record of the hearing on S. 1379. For the reasons stated below, I urge enactment of this legislation.

On December 20, 1777, Morocco became the first nation to recognize the independence of the infant United States of America. Recognition came in a letter written to all the foreign consuls in Morocco on behalf of Sidi Muhammad bin Abdallah, Morocco's sultan, by Mr. Webster Blount, the Dutch consul. In the letter, the sultan informed the consuls that he had instructed his naval vessels to respect American ships and that he recognized the Americans and other countries with which he did not then have treaties. I have detailed the events leading up to and following Morocco's historic recognition of the United States in an article published in Hespéris - Tamuda in 1982-3. The evidence I unearthed in the Dutch, French, and British archives, and which is cited in detail in this article, proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that Morocco was, indeed, the first country to recognize American independence. This occurred three months before France formalized its recognition of the U.S. by signing a treaty in February 1778.

Moroccan-American relations continued to develop in June 1786, when American envoy Thomas Barclay signed the Treaty of Marrakesh with Moroccan sultan Sidi Muhammad bin Abdullah. This treaty, many of whose provisions are still in force today, is the longest unbroken treaty that the United States has with any nation. It was also one of only a handful concluded before the adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1789.

In addition to these historic contacts, Sidi Muhammad's successors continued to exhibit this friendship toward the new republic across the Atlantic. For example, the old American Legation in Tangiers, was the first piece of foreign property owned by the United States -- it was acquired as a gift from a series of Moroccan sultans beginning in the early 19th century.

Over the decades, Morocco has repeatedly shown itself to be a good friend of the United States. In view of the historic ties between our two countries, I was very pleased to hear that His Majesty King Hassan II wishes to commemorate the bicentennial of the ratification of this first Moroccan-American Treaty by erecting a monument in Washington. I can think of no more fitting gesture, and I hope that the Senate will graciously accept this testimony to the enduring friendship between the United States and its oldest friend in the family of nations.

Sincerely,

Jerome B. Bookin-Weiner, PhD
Director

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Nacif. I very much appreciate the attitude of your country and its contribution. And it is, I think, most significant of the relationship that we have enjoyed, and I commend you and those responsible for this decision.

I don't believe that we have anything pending for your country to submit. We're deeply grateful, and your entire statement will be entered into the record, and I would wish you good day.

Mr. NACIF. Thank you.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Our next series of witnesses which will come before us as a panel, the Honorable James D. McKevitt; Thomas G. Dehne, assistant national adjutant, Disabled American Veterans; Don Schwab, legislative director, Veterans of Foreign Wars; John Kenney, National Committee for the Korean War Memorial.

And that constitutes the panel. Gentlemen, we are going to keep time, but your entire statements will be entered into the record. I have had the opportunity to work with several of you as chairman of the Veterans Committee, so it's, I guess, all of us wearing the same hat from time to time. Ordinarily I'm over in the Veterans, in the Russell Building, but you find me over here as a member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

Gentlemen, I would ask that you proceed according to your own individual time requirements. I appreciate your having been with us since the beginning of the morning, and you may proceed as you see fit, whoever grabs the microphone first. I see Don knows my habits perhaps better than the rest of you, so he moves quicker.

## STATEMENT OF DONALD H. SCHWAB, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE SERVICE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. SCHWAB. Thank you, sir. My name is Donald H. Schwab and it is my privilege to serve the 2 million members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars as their National Legislative Director.

We, of course, support S. 1223 introduced by the Honorable William L. Armstrong. There's been much talk this morning about what agency should be the action agency in the construction of any memorial. I think it's clear cut. Title 36, section 123, stipulates that:

> The American Battle Monuments Commission shall prepare plans and estimates for the erection of a suitable memorial to commemorate the services of the American Armed Forces and shall erect and maintain memorials in the United States and at such places outside the United States where the American Armed Forces have served since April 6, 1917, or shall hereafter serve, as the Commission shall determine.

In addition, 36 U.S.C. 128 also authorizes the American Battle Monuments Commission to receive for this purpose from any State, municipal or private source funds for the erection of a memorial.

So I think the law is quite specific in this area, and I'll not belabor you with my further comments on that.

Also before the committee today is S.J. Res. 156, introduced by you, Mr. Chairman, to erect a memorial commemorating women who have served in the Armed Forces. We have a resolution passed by our recent national convention that doesn't specifically address S.J. Res. 156, but rather calls for the erection of a woman veteran at the Vietnam Memorial near a statue of The Three Fighting Men. I mention this because both S.J. Res. 156 and our resolution number 739 point out the paucity of women in works of military art and is indicative of a need not only to recognize their contribution, but also raise public awareness of service performed by women during periods of war or hostility.

And that concludes my summary, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schwab follows:]

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

STATEMENT OF

DONALD H. SCHWAB, DIRECTOR
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE SERVICE
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

WITH RESPECT TO

A KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL
AND, ALSO,
A MEMORIAL TO HONOR WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN OUR ARMED FORCES

WASHINGTON, D. C. OCTOBER 29, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

Thank you for the privilege of appearing before this distinguished Subcommittee to present the views of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. My name is Donald H. Schwab and it is my privilege to serve the more than two million men and women of the Veterans of Foreign Wars as their National Legislative Director.

Mr. Chairman, one of the bills under consideration this morning, S. 1223, was introduced by the Honorable William L. Armstrong. Cited as the "Korean War Veterans Memorial Act of 1985," the legislation presently is cosponsored by more than half the members of the United States Senate.

Briefly, Mr. Chairman, the bill authorizes the American Battle Monuments Commission to provide for the erection on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs a memorial honoring members of our armed forces who served in the Korean war, particularly, those who were killed in action, missing in action or

★ WASHINGTON OFFICE ★
VFW MEMORIAL BUILDING ● 200 MARYLAND AVENUE, N. E. ● WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002 ● AREA CODE 202-543-2239

were prisoners of war. Provision is made for the requisite appropriation in any fiscal year beginning on or after October 1, 1985.

The instant legislation fulfills our current VFW resolution, No. 305, entitled "Provide a National Memorial to Korean Veterans," passed by the voting delegates to our 86th National Convention held in Dallas, Texas, August 16-23, 1985.

Mr. Chairman, in designating the American Battle Monuments Commission as the action agency, the bill is in conformance with current law since 36 USC 123 stipulates:

> "The Commission shall prepare plans and estimates for the erection of suitable memorial to commemorate the services of the American Armed Forces, and shall erect and maintain memorials in the United States and at such places outside the United States where the American Armed Forces have served since April 6, 1917, or shall hereafter serve, as the Commission shall determine."

In accordance with the foregoing, Mr. Chairman, the American Battle Monuments Commission has sought the necessary appropriation for years having been rebuffed in turn by both the old Bureau of the Budget and the President's Office of Management and Budget. In addition, the Commission is authorized by 36 USC 128 to also receive funds for this purpose from any State, municipal or private source; and if adequately publicized and vigorously pursued, donations could reduce the Federal expenditure and bathe the monument in an aura of true national pride and remembrance.

As a matter of record, of the 5.7 million who served in our Armed Forces during the Korean war, 5.2 million are still living--103,000 were wounded of whom 33,000 died and an additional 21,400 expired of non-battle causes--and some 5,000 were captured or listed as missing in action.

In view of the above statistics, it is inconceivable, indeed, that while for interment in Arlington National Cemetery we as a Nation go to the greatest extremes to locate and properly honor an unknown of each war, yet, we as a Nation treat as non-persons, unmemorialized and, yes, thus unhonored, those known valiant men and women who made the supreme sacrifice, those who were wounded, those who were prisoners of war, those veterans who have returned to their civilian endeavors and those so disabled that they will remain hospitalized the remainder of their lives.

Advancing and seeing through to fruition the necessary legislation, even though belated, would bring lasting, tangible tribute to those who fought in such places as Yongdungp'o, Taejon-ni, Seoul, Pork Chop Hill, and Pyong-Yang, among others.

Another bill under consideration, Mr. Chairman, is S.J. Res. 156 introduced by the Honorable Frank H. Murkowski to honor women who have served in our Armed Forces. Also enjoying the cosponsorship of more than half of the members of the Senate, the resolution authorizes any organization or organizations approved by the Secretary of the Interior to erect, at no cost to the United States, an appropriate memorial on Federal Government land in the District of Columbia or its environs. This authority will expire in five years from enactment of the joint resolution unless construction has commenced.

Mr. Chairman, our most recent National Convention also passed Resolution No. 739 entitled "Recognize the Women Who Served in the Vietnam War." The thrust of this resolution is to place a statue of a servicewoman near the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the statue of The Three Fighting Men. Although our resolution, No. 739, does not squarely addresses the instant legislation, it and S.J. Res. 156 are reminders of the paucity of women in works of military art and indicative of the need not only to recognize their contributions but, also, raise public awareness of service performed by women during periods of war and hostility.

This concludes my presentation, Mr. Chairman. Cited resolutions are appended to my testimony.

Thank you.

Resolution No. 305

## PROVIDE A NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO KOREAN VETERANS

WHEREAS, memorials and monuments have been erected to honor veterans of the Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, and the Vietnam Conflict; and

WHEREAS, brave men and women fought in the Korean Conflict to preserve the freedom and ideals of our country; and

WHEREAS, these men and women gave of their freedom and endured pain and suffering as a result of this service; and

WHEREAS, a national memorial has not been constructed to recognize the service by those Americans during the Korean Conflict; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the 86th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that an appropriate memorial be created in Washington, D.C., to recognize the service of the men and women who served during the Korean Conflict; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States support pending legislation to provide such a memorial.

Adopted by the 86th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held in Dallas, Texas, August 16-23, 1985.

Resolution No. 305

## Resolution No. 739

## RECOGNIZE THE WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE VIETNAM WAR

WHEREAS, this is the 10th Anniversary of the ending of the Vietnam War and the women who served in the Vietnam War have not been fully recognized for their duty and sacrifices; and

WHEREAS, these women in uniform in all branches of service who served in the Vietnam War, many serving in combat areas, dedicating their lives to help our wounded and in many cases coming under direct fire and giving of their own lives or being wounded while trying to protect our wounded servicemen; and

WHEREAS, the servicewomen of the Vietnam War served in many varying occupations, many brought comfort and care to those who were dying of their wounds; and

WHEREAS, many of these women of the Vietnam War were decorated for their bravery and eight (8) service nurses lost their lives while protecting and bringing medical care to our wounded; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the 86th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that we support the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project as a national project, to honor all servicewomen who served during the Vietnam War which will complete the National Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Congress be encouraged to appropriate the needed land at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site in Washington, D.C., by working through the Department of Interior, the Fine Arts Commission, the National Park Service, the Department of National Memorials and other necessary agencies.

Adopted by the 86th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held in Dallas, Texas, August 16-23, 1985.

Resolution No. 739

A

Senator **Murkowski**. I take it, then, Mr. Schwab, that while you have not taken a specific position on the bill, it's all right with you, as far as the women.

Mr. **Schwab**. We support S. 1223 specifically, yes.

Senator **Murkowski**. OK. That's the Korean. I was referring specifically to your position where you said that you had a resolution on the issue of a woman veteran being honored.

Mr. **Schwab**. There's no bill pending that our resolution specifically addresses.

Senator **Murkowski**. OK. My question then is, the bill that is pending, which happens to be my bill, addresses a proposal. May I ask you if you have an opinion specifically on that bill?

Mr. **Schwab**. Well, as a fallback position, I would have to say that we would have to support that bill in lieu of another recognizing women. Yes.

Senator **Murkowski**. OK. Recognizing that the purpose of this hearing is to take up what's before us—and I very much value the position and simply want to clarify for the record the position of the VFW with regard to the legislation before us, and I take it that you do support that.

Mr. **Schwab**. Yes.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much.

Whoever's on first. Somebody grab the mike.

## STATEMENT OF JAMES D. McKEVITT

Mr. **McKevitt**. I'll follow the rules, Mr. Chairman. My name is Mike McKevitt, James D. "Mike" McKevitt. I appear here individually today and at my own request in support of S. 1223.

Since we moved to this city 15 years ago, subsequent to my election to the 92d Congress, I have continually questioned the absence of a Korean War Memorial.

The war which it was—in addition to the terms of the times, a "police action" and a "military conflict"—was very much a reality to those individuals in my age group, as well as among recalled reservists who had served in World War II.

It came so fast upon the heels of World War II, the "war to end all wars," that it was treated like a fantasy. Life went on, except for those of us who entered military service with no protest and served in the Korean theater.

You have the figure before you—over 50,000 were killed in action, similar in number to Vietnam—and yet there is no memorial in this city, with the exception of the Unknown Soldier, to commemorate the many who gave their lives in the cause of freedom.

We should not forget that this was the first time in which 16 nations, including the United States, joined together under the United Nations' flag to aid a country threatened by totalitarian forces.

The 38th parallel, like the Berlin Wall, is a grim reminder today of life with and without economic and personal freedom.

For the life of me, it's difficult to understand why it's taken so long to commemorate the living and the dead for those who served their country in this war.

In my opinion, it's folly to debate whether the memorial should be paid for by the private sector or the U.S. Government. This opens the door to excessive administration costs, differences between competing groups, and a serious question of financial administration. I respectfully submit that this memorial should be an obligation to the United States through the American Battle Monuments Commission.

I commend Senator Armstrong for his active efforts to move S. 1223 and I strongly support his position.

We don't need a long debate on the design, the committee, or the methods of financing. It's time we get on with it.

When we returned from our tour of duty in the Korean theater, our ship pulled into San Francisco Bay and I remember the sign over the ferry building which said, "Welcome Home, Thanks for a Job Well Done." Ironically, the sign had been there since 1945; its purpose was to welcome returning World War II veterans.

And with that, we quickly returned to civilian life—no fanfare, no marches, no protest.

In this beautiful city which depicts the many significant events of American history, there is missing one important chapter, a memorial to those who served during the war in Korea.

I thank you for this opportunity and I wish you Godspeed in your deliberations.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McKevitt follows:]

# HEARING BEFORE THE PUBLIC LANDS SUBCOMMITTEE

(29 October 1985)

by

The Honorable James D. "Mike" McKevitt

Mister Chairman and Members of the Committee, I appear today individually and at my own request.

Since we moved to this city fifteen years ago, subsequent to my election to the 92nd Congress, I have continually questioned the absence of a Korean War Memorial.

The war which it was -- in addition to the terms of the times a "police action" and a "military conflict" -- was very much a reality to those individuals in my age group, as well as among reservists who had served in World War II.

It came so fast upon the heels of World War II (the "war to end all wars") that it was treated like a fantasy. Life went on except for those of us who entered military service with no protest. Not until one served in the Korean theater of operations did a stark realization surface that it was really a real live war.

You have the figures before you -- over 50,000 were killed in action (similar in number to Viet Nam) -- and yet there is no memorial in this city with the exception of the Unknown Soldier to commemorate the many who gave their lives in the cause of freedom.

We should not forget that this was the first time in which sixteen nations, including the United States, joined together under the United Nations' flag to aid a country threatened by totalitarian forces.

The 38th Parallel, like the Berlin Wall, is a grim reminder today of life with and without economic and personal freedom.

For the life of me, it is difficult to understand why it has taken so long to commemorate the living and the dead for those who served their country in this war.

In my opinion, it is folly to debate whether the memorial should be paid for by the private sector or the United States Government. This opens doors to excessive administrative costs, differences between competing groups, and a serious question of financial administration. I respectfully submit that this memorial should be an obligation of the United States through the American Battle Monuments Commission.

We don't need a long debate on the design, the committee, or the methods of financing. It is time we get on with it.

When we returned from our tour of duty, our ship pulled into San Francisco Bay, and I remember the sign over the Ferry Building which said "Welcome Home, Thanks for a Job Well Done." Ironically, the sign had been there since 1945; its purpose was to welcome returning World War II veterans.

And with that we quickly returned to civilian life -- no fanfare, no marches, no protest.

In this beautiful city which depicts the many significant events of American history, there is missing one important chapter -- a memorial to those who served during war in Korea.

I thank you for this opportunity. I wish you God-speed in your deliberations.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much, Mr. McKevitt. We appreciate your reminiscing on your own personal experiences and your recommendations with regard to the recognition of the Korean memorial.

## STATEMENT OF THOMAS G. DEHNE, ASSISTANT NATIONAL ADJUTANT, DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

Mr. **Dehne**. Mr. Chairman, in the essence of time, I will brief my remarks, but ask that my full statement be entered into the record.

Senator **Murkowski**. It will be entered into the record.

Mr. **Dehne**. My name is Thomas G. Dehne. I am assistant national adjutant and director of administration for the more than 1 million members of the Disabled American Veterans.

Mr. Chairman, the DAV wishes to express our deep appreciation for the invitation to appear here today to discuss our views on legislation which proposes to erect a memorial to honor this Nation's Korean war veterans.

During the Korean war, nearly 7 million Americans took up arms in a faraway country to fight against Communist aggression. It was a war in which American casualties totaled more than 54,000 dead, over 103,000 wounded, and 8,195 listed as missing in action. Yet, Mr. Chairman, the sacrifices made by these men and women have not received the recognition they truly deserve.

This memorial honors the sacrifices of those who served in the Korean war and these veterans will finally take their place alongside veterans of other wars and receive the just recognition they deserve.

As you know, Korean war veterans are now being referred to as the only remaining "forgotten warriors," and not without justification. Mr. Chairman, I certainly do remember the Korean war, as I was one of the participants in that war. While serving with the 1st Marine Division in August 1952, somewhere on the western front, I received wounds that necessitated my evacuation to a hospital in the United States and subsequent honorable discharge from active military service.

I feel that it is high time that our Nation finally and officially recognizes the sacrifices made by those of us who took up arms in an effort to contain Communist aggression in Korea and indeed the world.

Mr. Chairman, in response to the strong desire of our membership to honor those veterans who served during the Korean war, the delegates to our most recent annual national convention approved a resolution supporting the construction of a suitable memorial in Washington, DC to honor all veterans who served in the Korean war.

Mr. Chairman, the DAV believes S. 1223 would accomplish this goal, and we recommend favorable consideration by the members of the subcommittee.

As you are aware, Mr. Chairman, H.R. 2205 has been favorably reported by the House Committee on Administration.

This concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman, and I would again like to thank you and the members of the subcommittee for allowing us to present our views on this most important legislation, and I would be happy to answer any questions you may have at this time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dehne follows:]

STATEMENT OF
THOMAS G. DEHNE
ASSISTANT NATIONAL ADJUTANT
DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER
AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
October 29, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

My name is Thomas G. Dehne, I am an Assistant National Adjutant and Director of Administration for the more than one million members of the Disabled American Veterans.

Initially, Mr. Chairman, the DAV wishes to express our deep appreciation for the invitation to appear here today to discuss our views on legislation which proposes to erect a memorial to honor this nation's Korean War veterans.

As you are aware, Mr. Chairman, it has been more than 30 years since the signing of a truce at Panmunjom, Korea, which officially ended the fighting between the communists and the United Nation forces in Korea.

Although the fighting in Korea has been called a "police action" or "conflict," I can assure you that the more than 37 months of combat endured by American military forces in Korea was, indeed, a war.

It was a war in which nearly seven million Americans took up arms in a far away country to fight against communist aggression. It was a war in which American casualties totalled more than 54,000 dead, over 103,000 wounded, and 8,195 listed as missing-in-action.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, the sacrifices made by these men and women have not received the recognition they truly deserve.

Over the years, the United States has erected many monuments and memorials to honor those who have served our nation in time of need. Yet, the only recognition afforded our Korean War veterans is at the National Cemetery of the Pacific in Honolulu, Hawaii, which memorializes the sacrifices of American armed forces in the Pacific during World War II, Korea, and the missing-in-action of Vietnam.

While this memorial certainly does honor the sacrifices of those who served in the Korean War, we feel that by erecting a memorial in our nation's Capitol, Korean War veterans will finally take their place alongside veterans of other wars and receive the just recognition they deserve.

Given the recent recognition surrounding the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and when considering that the Korean War followed close on the heels of World War II, it is understandable that Korean War veterans are now being referred to as the only remaining "forgotten warriors" and not without justification.

How many Americans remember names like "Pork Chop Hill," "Old Baldy," "Finger Ridge," "Triangle Hill," or the month long battle for "Heartbreak Ridge?"

How many remember the two agonizing years of truce talks during which American casualties were high and our fighting forces had to endure extreme weather conditions?

How many remember the many heroic acts of our fighting forces--especially those 131 men who received our nation's highest award for heroism, the Congressional Medal of Honor?

Mr. Chairman, I certainly do remember the Korean War, as I was one of the participants in that war. While serving with the First Marine Division in August, 1952, somewhere on the Western Front, I received wounds that necessitated my evacuation to a hospital in the United States and subsequent honorable discharge from active military service.

I am not bitter, nor do I feel that my service was for naught. However, I do feel it is high time that our nation finally and officially recognizes the sacrifices made by those of us who took up arms in an effort to contain communist aggression in Korea and, indeed, the world.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, it is time to erect a memorial in the capitol of this great country to honor the service rendered by Korean War veterans.

In response to the strong desire of our membership to honor those veterans who served during the Korean War, the delegates to our most recent annual National Convention approved a resolution supporting the construction of a suitable memorial in Washington, D.C., to honor all veterans who served during the Korean War.

Mr. Chairman, the DAV believes S. 1223 would accomplish this goal.

As introduced, on May 24, 1985, by Senator Armstrong, S. 1223 would authorize the American Battle Monuments Commission to erect a memorial on federal land in the District of Columbia, or its environs, to honor members of the armed forces of the United States who served in the Korean War--particularly those who were killed-in-action, listed as missing-in-action or held as prisoners-of-war. Upon completion of the memorial, it is to be turned over to the Department of the Interior who shall be solely responsible for its maintenance.

S. 1223 also directs the National Fine Arts Commission and the National Capitol Planning Commission to approve the site selection, design and plans for construction of this memorial and authorizes to be appropriated such funds (beginning on or after

October 1, 1985) as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

We therefore recommend that S. 1223 be favorably considered by the members of the Subcommittee.

This concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman, and I again would like to thank you and the members of the Subcommittee for allowing us to present our views on this most important legislation. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have at this time.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Dehne. I appreciate the position of the Disabled American Veterans on this issue and we always value their recommendations. However, most of them have come, quite naturally, through my experience on the Veterans Committee.

It's a pleasure to have you over here before the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

The last witness.

## STATEMENT OF JOHN F.C. KENNEY, JR., PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL

Mr. KENNEY. Mr. Chairman, my name is John Kenney and I'm the president of the National Committee for the Korean War Memorial.

I want to thank you for the opportunity to testify on S. 1223 and S.J. Res. 184. I've submitted written testimony and ask that it be inserted in the record.

Senator MURKOWSKI. It will be entered in the record, Mr. Kenney.

Mr. KENNEY. As we know from the discussion that has gone on this morning, both of these bills have a common objective, and that is the establishment of a Korean War Memorial here, somewhere in the Nation's Capital. And I think we can all agree that this Nation has a moral obligation to recognize and honor the service and sacrifice of those who fought in the Korean war that began some 35 years ago. The casualty statistics have been covered adequately this morning.

We are here because of common agreement on a symbol of recognition, a memorial in the Nation's Capital to those who served. Realistically, there are only two ways to accomplish this. One is through a government agency supported by Federal funding, and the other one is through a private institution supported by public subscription.

S. 1223 assigns the task to a Federal agency, American Battle Monuments Commission, and that's an excellent choice. First of all, it's consistent with the charter of the organization and it's an organization which already has an existing capability and experience in the establishment of memorials to Americans.

The bill also provides for Federal funding. In the bill, or at least in the charter of the American Battle Monuments Commission, there exists an authority in that charter to accept donations directly from the public to defray the costs of building and establishing memorials.

These last two points are quite important. Federal funding not only provides the money necessary to get the job started sooner, but it also provides for oversight by congressional committees, by the GAO, and by other audit agencies of the United States Government.

The ability of the organization to accept donations provides for immediate opportunity for public participation directly to the American Battle Monuments Commission without the cost of raising the funds themselves. Therefore, it appears that the possibility would exist that Federal funding for this organization might only underwrite the costs of the initial stages which would eventually be borne by public subscription. This is a fully supportable approach.

S.J. Res. 184 is a version of the alternative approach, private institutions, by public subscription. However, S.J. Res. 184 not only assigns the task to a private institution, it designates specifically which one—the Korean War Memorial, Inc.

This resolution, therefore, seems to transfer the authority to a private institution without provision for oversight, audit review, and it would appear to us to be an abdication of congressional responsibility in those areas.

So before granting the authorization, we'd better take a look at the organization, its history, performance, and perhaps its future.

It was originally incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1981 and for the last 3 years has been under contract with an organization for professional fundraising through mass mail and telephone only. There's been one outside rally arranged by an individual in Philadelphia.

The results: according to the Miami Herald on July 7, 1985, 3 million letters were mailed; 23,000 donors responded; $600,000 was collected; the expenditures were $642,000; and the organization was in debt $42,000.

In a more recent news report in the Minneapolis Star & Tribune, the organization is said to have collected $683,925, has expended $661,860 on fundraising. We assume an administrative expense of somewhere around $19,284 because the balance on hand is $2,761 on August 31, 1985.

Mr. Chairman, that's 97 cents of every dollar contributed has gone into the cost of fundraising or administrative expenses. That also is from the Minneapolis Star & Tribune. And to continue with that article, it compared the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in its first 2 years collected $9 million, and only 25 percent of that money went into fundraising costs.

We contend the Korean War Memorial, Inc. has conducted a failed fundraising campaign. Therefore, we feel that the subcommittee has very little choice but to reject this approach. The window of opportunity is closing and the private institution effort has fallen short of the mark. If Congress is to meet its moral obligation to recognize and honor Korean veterans, the time to act is now. We need a swift authorization; we need a speedy appropriation to the American Battle Monuments Commission. That organization is ready to start. It's ready to accept public donations, and, in fact, it has already, without overt publicity, collected $1,570 from 57 donors.

A real task before us is to get the legislation passed and then tell the people what's going on—who will tell them—the President of the United States, when he signs the bill into law, 535 Members of Congress in newsletters to their constituents and the press and the other communications media have the opportunity. However, we feel that the burden will fall most heavily on the veterans associations working with the ABMC in their finest hour.

It's a challenge they should not refuse. Therefore, we, the National Committee of the Korean War Memorial, urge the passage of S. 1223, the Korean War Memorial Act of 1985 as soon as possible.

Thank you for this opportunity.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kenney follows:]

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL**
**2144 California Street, NW, Suite #411**
**Washington, DC 20008**

**202-265-0345**

October 28, 1985

Chairman
Public Land Sub-Committee
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Please accept the enclosed statement for the record in the Public Hearing on Senate Bill, S.1223, and Senate Joint Resolution, S.J. Res. 184, conducted by the Public Land Sub-Committee at 10:00 AM, October 29, 1985.

JOHN F.C. KENNEY, JR.
President, NCKWM

Enclosures - 2
Statement
Exhibits

Please address all correspondence:

John F. C. Kenney, Jr.
8602 Cyrus Place
Alexandria, VA 22308

703-780-7536

BEFORE THE
SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LAND

Mister Chairman, Members of the Committee

My name is John Kenney, and I am President of the National Committee for the Korean War Memorial.

On behalf of our organization I want to thank you for the opportunity to testify on Senate Bill S.1223 and Senate Joint Resolution S.J. Res 184 both of which address the establishment of a memorial in the Nation's Capital to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean War.

The idea of establishing a Korean war memorial dates back at least as far as the mid-1960's when the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) was seeking an appropriation of funds to erect the memorial. At that time the request was turned down because of the high cost of prosecuting the war in Viet Nam. More recent attempts by the ABMC have been turned down because of concern for budget deficits.

The most recent effort to establish a memorial by a non-profit organization in the private sector had its genesis in August, 1979.

At that time, Ms. Chayon Kim, a Korean-born U.S. citizen who recalls her early childhood with memories of huddling in a bunker while American B-29s dropped bombs on North Korean troops all around her hiding place -- and who was the first curator of the 2d U.S. Infantry Division Museum, Camp Howze, Korea -- was involved in coordination of a luncheon in New York for officials of the Korean Veterans Association, members of the press, and some American veterans of the Korean War. As a part of this affair, Ms. Kim also arranged for and participated in a conference with Mrs. Douglas MacArthur and the Korean Veterans Association officials. At the end of the month a letter from Mrs. MacArthur inspired Ms. Kim with the idea of establishing a Korean War Memorial in Washington, D.C.

After two years of investigation and study into the means of establishing a memorial in Washington, she moved to this city and set out on her mission. She visited the American Battle Monuments Commission, the offices of the Capital Region of the National Park Service, and the Superintendent of Records and Deeds of the District of Columbia to get the information she needed to get started on her project. In November, 1981, she enlisted the aid of two new-found acquaintances to act as fellow incorporators for a non-profit organization she chose to call -- the National Committee for the Korean War Memorial.

Today, that original organization is known as the Korean War Memorial, Inc.; however, due to circumstances beyond her control, Ms. Kim has not been personally associated with its activities since December, 1982.

Ms. Kim is now an incorporator, director, and Secretary and Treasurer, of a new National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, incorporated in January 1984, which also has as its objective the establishment of a memorial to honor and commemorate the service and sacrifice of the Armed Forces of the United States and the other twenty-one allied nations who fought under the banner of the United Nations to preserve the independence of the Republic of Korea from Communist domination. I serve as President of the new organization.

We are not here today to discuss the differences between the two organizations.

We are here to add our voice to the idea that the time has come to guarantee the establishment, as quickly as possible, of a memorial that everyone agrees is long overdue. There are two basic approaches to getting the job done.

- o Establish the memorial through the action of a governmental agency using funds appropriated by the Congress for that purpose.
- o Establish the memorial through the action of a private institution using funds collected by public subscription.

Both of these approaches have been used in the past: the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission is chartered by the Congress to establish a memorial to a great President; the Marine Corps Memorial and the memorials to the Sea Bees and the First and Second Infantry Divisions are examples of memorials which were, for the most part, directly funded by the members of the organizations they represent; the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial was successfully established by a private institution using contributions and donations from all over the nation.

The idea of a Korean war memorial has been so long delayed in coming, however, that it has no dedicated following, like a unit organization or a generation of young people highly motivated to honor, in their own time, those fallen comrades who died in a war nobody understood. The Korean war memorial has as its purpose recognizing and honoring the service and sacrifice of people who fought in a war which began thirty-five years ago, and many of them are not fully convinced that there will ever be a memorial to their service in their lifetimes any more than there were parades to welcome them home in 1953. Therefore, if there is to be memorial for them, the effort to see it established must be provided by a surrogate organization dedicated to the successful completion of the task.

In November 1981, with the formation of the original National Committee for the Korean War Memorial -- now known as the Korean War Memorial, Inc. -- it appeared that the best approach was to develop an organization in the private sector which would obtain its support from public subscriptions. That was the approach followed so successfully by the organizers of the Viet Nam Veterans' Memorial. In the case of the Korean war memorial, so far, for a number of reasons, that approach has not worked.

Today, the best approach to the problem is to turn the project over to a governmental agency and to provide that organization with the resources to get the job done.

Senate Bill S.1223, one of the bills presented for your consideration today, assigns the task and provides the resources to the American Battle Monuments Commission, and that is an excellent choice.

- o The task falls within the charter of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

- The American Battle Monuments Commission is structured and prepared to accomplish the task now.
- The American Battle Monuments Commission effort can be funded directly by Federal appropriations.
- The charter of the American Battle Monuments Commission allows that organization to accept donations from the public which can be used to defray the costs of establishing the memorial.

These last two points are extremely important.

- Directing the commission to establish the memorial using appropriated funds ensures the timely and efficient completion of the memorial by an organization which has both the current ability and the institutional memory necessary to the accomplishment of the task. In addition, this action puts the entire effort under the scrutiny of Congressional oversight committees and the General Accounting Office and other government auditing agencies.
- Because the commission is authorized to accept public donations and contributions to defray the costs of establishing the memorial, the people of the United States -- once made aware of the fact that they can make a contribution -- will have the opportunity to participate directly in the funding of the memorial without also paying the costs of raising the money.

The American Battle Monuments Commission has already established a single bank account for gifts, donations, and subscriptions it has already received for the memorial -- and, in addition, it has established a procedure whereby each donor will be refunded his entire donation if for some reason we fail to provide adequate legislation or if the monument is not completed within the time prescribed in the legislation.

There are already fifty-four donations, totaling $1445.00 residing in that account. And all of the money in that account can be spent to defray the costs of establishing a Korean war memorial -- or returned to the donor.

To sum up, this approach not only provides for underwriting the initial costs of establishing the memorial by public financing and for full accountability; it also gives the American people the opportunity to participate personally and directly in the cause -- without having to pay for the high costs of fund raising and without the risk of loss if, for some reason, the memorial is not established within a reasonable time.

In these times of concern over mounting Federal budget deficits, however, selecting this approach can also bring an unfavorable response from the American public over what could be perceived as an unnecessary expense.

Therefore, we must take a look at the alternative approach proposed in Senate Joint Resolution, S J Res 184.

This resolution not only directs that the Korean war memorial be established by an organization funded by donations from the private sector, it also designates exactly which organization is to accomplish the task -- the Korean

War Memorial, Inc. At the time this resolution was introduced the leadership of this organization was described as a "responsible group of Korean veterans" who are "fully aware of the challenge of raising private funding" and who are "in a position to do it quickly and effectively."

Since a vote favoring S J Res 184 could turn over, specifically to this organization, the authority, as well as the responsibility, for establishment of a Korean war memorial on Federal land within the District of Columbia or its environs, it might be a good idea to take a long look at the organization, its history, its performance to date, and its future.

The Korean War Memorial, Inc., is one, of at least two, private, non-profit, non-membership organizations formed to promote, finance, and establish a memorial to the United States contribution to the Korean War of 1950-1953. Accomplishment of its purpose includes the solicitation of public grants and private funds.

This organization came into being on November 30, 1981 as the National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, Inc. The founders of this organization were: Ms. Chayon Kim, a Korean-born naturalized American citizen, the first curator of the U.S. Army Second Infantry Division Museum; Dr. Timothy Hallinan, a professor and a former employee of U.S. AID Agency - Korea; and Mr. Kenneth M. Scheibel, journalist and former president of the National Press Club.

Within a short time Dr. Hallinan and Mr. Scheibel began to exhibit only a limited interest in the day-to-day operations of the organization, and soon Ms. Kim was faced with single-handedly managing the entire task. Within a few months she had prepared the letters (some signed by Hallinan, the rest by Kim) which recruited a score of prominent Americans from every walk of life -- to include several members of the Congress -- to membership in the National Sponsoring Committee; she obtained the necessary recognition by the IRS as a tax-exempt organization -- which still benefits the Korean War Memorial, Inc., today; she prepared the first draft legislation for a Korean war memorial -- which was introduced in the House by Congressman Hammerschmidt and in the Senate by Senator Pryor; she prepared the presentation before the National Capital Memorial Advisory Commission -- which voted unanimously to support the legislation which had been introduced; she recruited a nine member panel of judges for an international design competition she had envisioned for the memorial; she worked fourteen to sixteen hour days for weeks at a time, and paid all the expenses -- rent, phone, office supplies and furniture -- out of pocket, during the formative days of the organization.

Early in December 1982, she was ousted from the board of directors and from her position as Secretary and Treasurer, in a board action of questionable validity, by some of the very people she had brought into the organization in the first place.

Shortly before, or after, her ouster -- depending on which copy you read -- the organization entered into a contract of questionable validity with Bruce W. Eberle and Associates, Inc., which allowed that firm the right to charge "creative fees" of $35.00 (later reduced to $25.00) per thousand pieces of outgoing mail. Some of the solicitation letters created under this contract earned well-deserved scorn in the press (Exhibits 1 and 2) and, at least one letter stated that the Congress had already authorized the establishment of the Korean war memorial (Exhibit 3) even though the bills to do so had never even been scheduled for a committee or sub-committee hearing. This letter was followed by another solicitation letter apologizing for the "clerical error," and, of course, asking for more money (Exhibit 4).

The contract ran out in early 1985, but it was renewed by the current management. According to a report in the October 20, 1985 Minneapolis Star and Tribune, ninety-seven cents of every dollar contributed to this organization has gone toward administrative and fund raising costs. (Exhibit 5). Our own investigation shows that money for fund raising was paid, out of contributions, to Eberle and Associates or to the vendors (including Eberle subsidiaries) whose bills were forwarded to an escrow agent for payment after being approved by an Eberle representative and a self-styled "consultant" who was not even an officer of the corporation.

The Star and Tribune also reported that the organization which established the Viet Nam Veterans' Memorial collected about nine million dollars in less than two years and spent only about one-fourth of that amount on fund raising costs.

Records filed with the Internal Revenue Service as of June 30, 1983, reported that revenues for the preceding fiscal year (July 1, 1982 - June 30, 1983) exceeded expenses by $17,060, creating a net worth of that amount (Exhibit 6).

Records filed as of June 30, 1984 for the next fiscal year (July 1, 1983 - June 30, 1984), showed that expenses exceeded revenues by $6,322, reducing the net worth to $10,738 (Exhibit 7).

Recently, an article published in the July 7, 1985, Miami Herald, credited the mass mailing fund raising effort by the Korean War Memorial, Inc., with contacting between two and three million people, making them aware of the need for a Korean war memorial. According to the article, that effort, which was initiated in October, 1982, has induced some 23,000 donors to contribute approximately $600,000 for the building of the memorial. The article also pointed out that the costs of fund raising and other expenses up to the date of the article totaled approximately $642,000 -- leaving the Korean War Memorial, Inc., $42,000 in debt (Exhibit 8).

The Minneapolis Star and Tribune article reports that from July 1, 1982 through August 31, 1985, the Korean War Memorial, Inc., collected $683,925 according to financial statements; the fund-raiser's expenses totaled $661,860, and other expenses incurred by the committee left it with a balance of $2,761 (Exhibit 5).

In our opinion this is a picture of a failed fund raising campaign -- our real concern is whether or not this organization has "poisoned the well."

One more point -- the Korean War Memorial, Inc., is engaged in a law suit with our organization in the Superior Court of the District of Columbia. At the present time we are still in the discovery period, and our investigation has just begun. If we prevail, the court will dissolve the Korean War Memorial, Inc., and Congress might then have to designate another organization to establish a Korean war memorial.

The window of opportunity for the establishment of a Korean war memorial is rapidly closing, and the most substantial effort accomplished in the private sector, by the Korean War Memorial, Inc., has fallen far short of the mark.

It appears to us that this committee has little choice but to reject this course of action.

If this Congress is going to meet its moral obligation to provide timely recognition of those who served their country in the "forgotten war", then swift authorization of this project and speedy appropriation of adequate funds to a credible, competent organization represent a pressing need.

The American Battle Monuments Commission is already prepared to take on the task, and in the House of Representatives, the Committee on House Administration has already recommended passage of House Bill HR 2205, which provides the necessary authorization.

As I have stated, the American Battle Monuments Commission is already authorized to accept gifts, donations, and subscriptions to defray the costs of establishing the memorial. However, if we are to see a Korean war memorial in our own time, it will also be necessary for the Congress to appropriate the funds to underwrite at least the initial stages of the project. Whether the entire cost of establishing the memorial can be defrayed through gifts, donations, and subscriptions from the American people cannot be determined at this time.

However, we do know this much. Without any overt publicity, there is already over fourteen hundred dollars in the American Battle Monuments Commission Korean War Memorial bank account. Who can say how much that account will grow if the American people take this task to heart?

All we have to do is to let them know that the goal to establish a Korean War Memorial in the Nation's Capital is alive and well and in good hands, and they will do the rest.

Who will tell them?

The President of the United States when he signs the enabling legislation into law; 535 Members of Congress in their constituent newsletters; the national veterans' associations and their local affiliates through their national and local publications; the members of the press, who never miss a good story; radio and television outlets in public service announcements, and other good-hearted citizens who will contact their friends and tell them about the project.

The brunt of the burden of rallying public support should be borne by the organizations whose *raison d'etre* is representing the best interests of those who have served in the armed forces of this nation, the national veterans organizations. Working together with the American Battle Monuments Commission and providing the impetus for the long overdue recognition for those who served in the Korean war could be their finest hour in this decade. It is a challenge they should not refuse.

I urge this committee to go forward with a favorable recommendation for the passage of S.1223, the Korean War Memorial Act of 1985.

EXHIBIT 1

# Financing a Korean memorial

AUGUST 16, 1983

## U.S.A.

### YOUR FRIEND, THE GENERAL

By Ernest B. Furgurson A3
Chief of The Sun's Washington Bureau

Washington — Conservative fund-raisers are getting the jump on lawmakers by soliciting money for a Korean War memorial here even before Congress has approved the project.

To avoid another controversy like that over the somber Vietnam War memorial unveiled last year, the committee involved emphasizes that it wants a "traditional, patriotic and compelling" monument in the spirit of the Marines' famous Iwo Jima statue near Arlington Cemetery.

Myron McKee, executive director of the campaign, said Alabama's Senator Jeremiah Denton, a former admiral who became a hero as a prisoner of the North Vietnamese, will chair the design jury and be in position to cast a deciding vote in case of deadlock.

The authorizing resolutions were sponsored this year by Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R. Minn.) and Representative Charles Rose (D. N.C.), and now have a long list of co-sponsors aiming at final passage this fall. Official sponsorship would provide a federal site to be selected by Interior Secretary James Watt and assure its permanent maintenance.

But Mr. McKee said that if Congress should not approve, the committee would go ahead with its campaign and build a memorial anyhow. Funds are being held in an escrow account, he said.

Using the names of some well-known and other lesser-known figures, mass mailings have begun with a goal of $6.5 million, an estimated $5.45 million of it earmarked for actual construction of the memorial. Another $700,000 is tagged for fund-raising and public relations, and the remaining $350,000 for office, administrative and travel costs.

The fund-raising firm, run by Bruce Eberle, previously has done campaigns for charity drives as well as for right-wing Senator Jesse Helms's Congressional Club and such Republican candidates as California's former Representative Barry Goldwater, Jr., and Florida's Senator Paula Hawkins.

Mr. Eberle said he was using about 150 different mailing lists, including magazine subscribers and contributors to various causes. The firm has written 23 different mailing "packages," and 10 to 15 of them already are in the mail. Returns so far were called "very encouraging."

Mr. McKee said the committee was founded in 1981 by Timothy Hallinan, who was with the U.S. Agency for International Development in Korea and has been a professor at the University of Maryland and the universities of Kyoto and Tokyo in Japan. He is now listed as president of an international business firm called First Western.

The committee itself has no payroll, and is manned entirely by volunteers, Mr. McKee stated. He is a Minnesota Republican who has real estate and consulting businesses in that state and in the capital. Asked whether this was a distinctly conservative campaign, Mr. McKee said Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and other Democrats are on the committee's list of sponsors.

He said all veterans' organizations have been invited to support the committee, which so far has the endorsement of the Disabled American Veterans and several other groups. The commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, James Currieo, is listed on the sponsoring committee, and the American Legion is yet to be heard from.

A prize of $10,000 will be awarded for the winning design. Individuals, students, professionals or companies are eligible to compete. But "draft evaders or those with discharges under other than honorable conditions need not apply," according to the committee's prospectus.

Mr. McKee said the traditional, patriotic style was endorsed after the committee conducted an informal poll.

"Frankly, we are more partial to the opinion of veterans than to other special-interest groups," the executive director said.

* * *

The foregoing is an objective report on a little-noticed committee that has not sought national publicity until the expected lift comes with congressional passage of the joint resolutions. The following is a subjective response from a recipient of one of the hundreds of thousands of fund-raising appeals already in the mail.

At first I thought it had come to me because I wrote a column last spring making the case for a Korean War memorial, to fill a gap by honoring the Americans who died and served there. I received warm, sometimes emotional letters of endorsement from readers.

But of course I had only to look at the envelope to see beyond that. Its return address was "Maj. Gen. R. C. Butler, United States Army (Ret.)." Beside it was a twin-starred crimson flag. Above my own name and address peeking through the cellophane window was a question from the general: "Will you let me put your name on my Honor Roll in tribute to General MacArthur and his men?"

Although I follow military matters fairly closely, General Butler's name did not ring a bell. Inside, the letterhead again featured the general's flag and name in bold letters.

"Dear Friend," the letter began. "As a retired major general in the U.S. Army, I'm writing to you . . ." Noting that the Korean War is the only one not memorialized in Washington, it stated, "'Old soldiers never die,' General MacArthur said, 'they just fade away.'

"Will you let the memory fade?" it asked. "Or will you join me in honoring General MacArthur and those who stood with him in Korea?"

It said the names of contributors would be sealed within the base of the memorial, and added that a cassette recording of MacArthur's farewell address to Congress would be sent to those giving $25 or more.

The enclosed form, entitled "Personal reply to Maj. Gen. Butler," had blanks to be checked for contributions from $10,000 down to "$ other." It had negative blanks, too, saying "No, do not place my name on your Honor Roll in tribute to General MacArthur and his men," and further, "No, I cannot make even a small contribution toward honoring our veterans of Korea — the only war in which our veterans have not been honored."

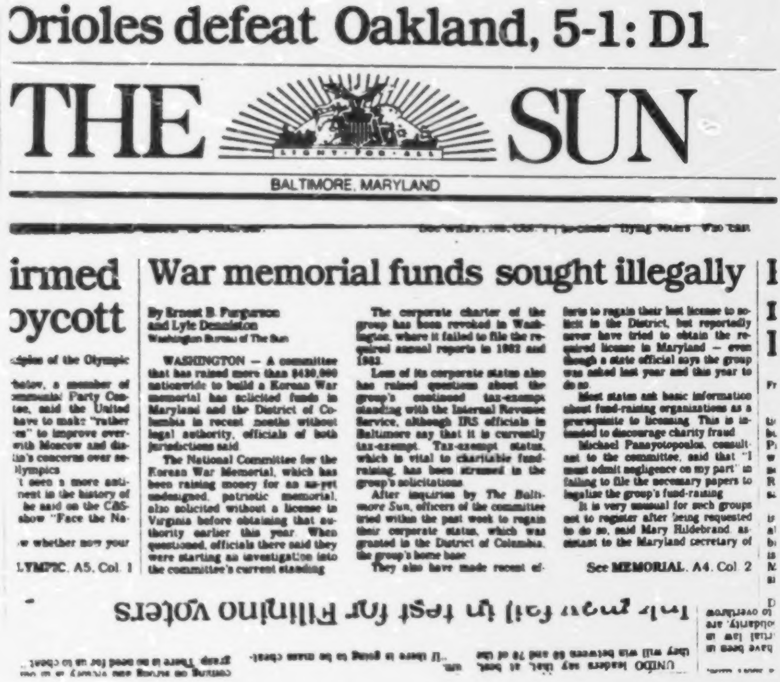
It did not have a blank saying, "Sorry, I am a cheap SOB," but that was implied.

Seeking background from Mr. Hallinan, the founder of the committee, I called his First Western Corporation and left a message on a recording. He didn't call back yesterday. Had I gotten his ear, I would have offered some free advice:

Not everyone who would like to see Korean veterans honored is an automatic worshiper of Douglas MacArthur, and not everyone who might contribute is receptive to the high-pressure tactics that pay off so big in political fund-raising.

Any memorial to those who died and served in the Korean War will be the property of all the people. Those who feel strongly enough to help build it will do so without being patronized by mail.

EXHIBIT 2



Orioles defeat Oakland, 5-1: D1

THE SUN

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

# War memorial funds sought illegally

By Ernest B. Furgurson
and Lyle Denniston
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — A committee that has raised more than $430,000 nationwide to build a Korean War memorial has solicited funds in Maryland and the District of Columbia in recent months without legal authority, officials of both jurisdictions said.

The National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, which has been raising money for an as-yet undesigned, patriotic memorial, also solicited without a license in Virginia before obtaining that authority earlier this year. When questioned, officials there said they were starting an investigation into the committee's current standing.

The corporate charter of the group has been revoked in Washington, where it failed to file the required annual reports in 1982 and 1983.

Loss of its corporate status also has raised questions about the group's continued tax-exempt standing with the Internal Revenue Service, although IRS officials in Baltimore say that it is currently tax-exempt. Tax-exempt status, which is vital to charitable fund-raising, has been stressed in the group's solicitations.

After inquiries by *The Baltimore Sun*, officers of the committee tried within the past week to regain their corporate status, which was granted in the District of Columbia, the group's home base.

They also have made recent efforts to regain their lost license to solicit in the District, but reportedly never have tried to obtain the required license in Maryland — even though a state official says the group was asked last year and this year to do so.

Most states ask basic information about fund-raising organizations as a prerequisite to licensing. This is intended to discourage charity fraud.

Michael Panayotopoulos, consultant to the committee, said that "I must admit negligence on my part" in failing to file the necessary papers to legalize the group's fund-raising.

It is very unusual for such groups not to register after being requested to do so, said Mary Hildebrand, assistant to the Maryland secretary of

See MEMORIAL, A4, Col. 2

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# Korean War memorial funds

MEMORIAL, from A1

state. Of the state's 875 organizations currently licensed, this is the only current case of failure to register after being notified, she said.

As of this week, the IRS district office in Baltimore still carried the committee on its list of organizations entitled to solicit tax-deductible donations. But Raymond Reuling, a tax-law specialist there, said tax-exempt status is granted "through a legal entity that exists through public documents. . . . If there is no legal entity, of course it cannot be an exempt organization. . . . Technically, if that corporate document is no longer in existence, they don't exist."

But Domenic LaPenna of the IRS said later that an inquiry could take from six months to a year before any action is taken. The only way an individual contributor would know that a fund-raising group had lost its tax standing would be by checking whether it has been dropped from the master list of exempt organizations, he said.

The IRS official said that when a tax-exempt group goes out of existence, its funds are supposed to be distributed to other charities. Thus contributors should not lose the deductibility of donations they have made in good faith, he said.

Records indicate that the committee's direct-mail campaign has sent out more than 2 million fund-raising letters that grossed about $331,634 last year and $99,544 through April of this year — a total of $431,178.

Mr. Panayotopoulos made some of the committee's records available at a town house in suburban Alexandria, Va., and said that other records relating to the fund-raising will be open to inspection. The group has been based in Alexandria since late last year. Within the past two years, it also has occupied three other offices in the Washington area.

The spokesman said that not all states require licensing by charitable fund-raising organizations and that the committee has responded whenever it was asked to register by any state. That request is made when the group's professional fund-raising agency lists its clients on its own state registration papers, he said.

The committee began in 1981 with the purpose of raising money for a Korean War memorial in the Washington area. In 1983 some of its original founders were ousted from its board in an internal feud. Since the 1981 committee's corporate status was revoked in September, the former participants have incorporated a new group under the same name with the intention of taking over the project.

> “Technically, if that corporate document is no longer in existence, they don't exist.”
> RAYMOND REULING

That new organization, in the process of obtaining state-by-state licensing, has not started soliciting funds.

Besides Mr. Panayotopoulos, the committee's other active figure is Myron E. McKee, its former chairman, who continued to serve as executive director while running for the Republican congressional nomination in the 1st District of Minnesota. Mr. McKee withdrew from that race last week after failing to win party backing in a district convention.

Mr. McKee said yesterday he was returning to Washington "to straighten out" the committee's problems. He said he would attempt to reincorporate it in Virginia and intended to bring legal action against organizers of the new group.

Meanwhile, congressional sources say controversy about the committee has led to a decision to hold up any action on a resolution that would give congressional approval to building the memorial in Washington with private contributions. The American Battle Monuments Commission has recommended to Congress that the government build a Korean War monument with federal money rather than through a private fund-raising campaign.

The Council of Better Business Bureaus says it has made three attempts to get information from the committee without success. After receiving inquiries, it sent one first-class and two registered letters to the downtown Washington address used as a fund-raising mail drop by the committee. The two registered letters were returned, marked "unclaimed."

Informed that D.C. records show the committee's corporate status was revoked, Mr. McKee said: "I'm fairly certain that is false. The reports were filed. I signed them myself. There must have been a mixup."

Mr. Panayotopoulos said at first, "It's news to me if it's been revoked. That can't be correct." On Wednesday, he filed an annual report in a move that he said he believed would regain the charter.

Here is the committee's legal status:

THE SUN, Monday, May 14, 1984

# were solicited improperly

**The committee's direct-mail campaign has sent out more than 2 million fund-raising letters.**

reported by state and D.C. officials:

☐ Maryland — The group never has applied for a license to solicit funds, according to Mrs. Hildebrand. She said she asked the committee on December 29, 1983, and March 22 to file the necessary papers, and got no response.

Mrs. Hildebrand says a license is required 30 days before any fund-raising begins. She said she contacted a separately licensed fund-raiser that is handling the committee's campaign last week, and was told that the committee would soon seek to comply with state law.

☐ District of Columbia — The committee's basic corporate charter was revoked because it failed to send in the required annual reports. Although the charter was revoked officially on September 12, the committee had until December 31 to file those reports to protect its charter. When it did not do so, its charter lapsed on December 31.

Now, the rival group has obtained a charter in the District, and has taken the same name. Acting Superintendent of Corporations Shelly Finch says that means the former group has no legal authority now to do business in the District under that name. Processing a new charter application under a new name would take some time, according to Ms. Finch's office staff.

The absence of a charter means that the group cannot get a new license to solicit for funds in the District, according to Jeanne Sanza, chief of the Business Services Department.

The group's license to raise money in the District ran out on August 31. Mr. Panayotopoulos said he filed the required renewal application and $80 license fee last week, but Ms. Sanza said last week that "there isn't anything in the file to show that they have the authority to be soliciting." Moreover, she said, no new license could be issued without a new corporate charter.

☐ Virginia — After raising funds there for many months, the committee sought a solicitation license in November. It was granted on February 17. But Jay Michael Wright, coordinator of charitable licensing in the state, said that he is investigating the committee anew because the rival Korean War memorial group also has obtained a license to raise money in Virginia, and "both would not be allowed to do so under the same name."

Its books show that it has sent checks for fund-raising licenses only to D.C., Virginia and North Carolina. Mr Panayotopoulos says it has an application pending in New York and that in some other states registration has been handled by "local friends and collaborators." Most states require registration.

In each jurisdiction, it is a misdemeanor, punished by fines and jail terms of less than a year, to raise funds without a license. But prosecution depends on whether the small enforcement staff in each state seeks to have someone punished under state law and whether the local prosecutors agree to file a charge.

Using its fund-raising agent, Bruce Eberle and Associates, of Vienna, Va., the committee has solicited money throughout the United States, even in places where it was not licensed.

Mr. Eberle said "yes, I would think" his firm had sent committee mailings to all 50 states. "I'm not positive about D.C.," he added. Later, he said the agency had adopted a "blanket policy" against soliciting in Washington six months ago, and that "I'm positive we're not going to the District now."

But independent of the Eberle agency, the committee also has conducted fund-raising drives by telephone and solicited contributions in separate literature. Money raised through those means does not pass through the elaborate pickup and escrow arrangement the agency says is used to safeguard funds.

The committee's records show that it independently hired Lori Saxon of suburban Virginia for free-lance telephone solicitation early this year, and that effort produced at least one $100 donation from Washington.

Solicitations by Eberle, sent to a variety of conservative mailing lists, were received in both Maryland and Virginia when the committee was not licensed in those states. Most recently, an April appeal for support of a Korean War memorial rally in Philadelphia produced at least one contribution of $25 or more from Baltimore, according to committee literature.

EXHIBIT 3

**Maj. Gen. R.G. Butler**
**United States Army (Ret.)**

Dear Friend,

As a retired Major General in the U.S. Army, I'm writing to you in hopes that you will join me in honoring the memory of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and the nearly six million Americans who served with him during the Korean conflict.

You can join me in honoring them by allowing me to place your name on an Honor Roll which pays tribute to those who served in the Korean War.

You see, the Korean War is the only war in our nation's history in which our veterans have not been honored.

That's right. The only one...

...despite the fact that over 6 million Americans served in our military during the Korean War...

...and 103,284 Americans were wounded in Korea...

...and 54,264 Americans died bravely fighting for freedom alongside soldiers from 15 other nations.

Yet the brave veterans of Korea have not been honored.

"Old soldiers never die," General MacArthur said, "they just fade away".

Will you let the memory fade?

Or will you join me in honoring General MacArthur and those who stood with him in Korea?

Now you can honor General Douglas MacArthur and the Americans who answered their nation's call and stood their ground.

Please let me explain.

After all these years, the United States Congress is finally in the process of authorizing the construction of a memorial in Washington, D.C. honoring General MacArthur and those valiant men who served with him in the Korean War.

That's why I hope that you will allow me to place your name on this special Honor Roll in tribute to General MacArthur and his men which will be permanently sealed at the base of the Korean War Memorial.

Please use the enclosed form to let me know by circling either the YES or the NO so that I will know whether or not I can place your name on this special Honor Roll.

As a personal favor to me, won't you please return your answer to me today.

I do hope that you will honor those who served in the Korean War by letting me place your name on this Honor Roll. Whatever your decision, please let me hear from you immediately.

There's something else I think you should know.

The Korean War Memorial which is to be built in Washington, D.C. will be an unabashedly patriotic tribute to General MacArthur and the men who served under him.

With pride and dignity it will honor the 54,264 men who gave their lives in the defense of freedom. Whatever the final design of the Memorial, it will honor America and the men who served her so well.

As a matter of fact, you will be given an opportunity to voice your opinion on the designs submitted for this Memorial honoring Douglas MacArthur and all veterans of the Korean War.

As a retired Major General in the U.S. Army, I give you my solmn assurance that this Memorial will be a fitting tribute to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and America's fighting men who served in Korea.

I admire General MacArthur and his men. So I especially want the Korean War Memorial to be one he and his men would approve of.

And of course I want you to approve of this long-overdue Memorial.

In fact, if you will allow me to place your name on the special Honor Roll to be sealed at the base of the Memorial, I will make certain to invite you as an honored guest at the dedication of the Korean War Memorial.

I want to also tell you that although the United States Congress has given its full endorsement and support to this project by authorizing its creation, not one dollar of your tax dollars will be spent to build this Memorial.

This tribute to MacArthur and to his men is to be paid for solely out of voluntary contributions by American citizens.

It will be a gift in loving memory of these men and General MacArthur who fought and sacrificed and died so that freedom might prevail.

It is my prayer that there will be an outpouring of nationwide support for this patriotic project.

Pennies from school children as well as larger contributions from adults are equally important.

Personnaly, I can think of no more fitting tribute to General MacArthur and the valiant men who served under him.

In his memory and the memory of his men, won't you please send a

.age three

gift to help build this Memorial.

I hope that you will honor Douglas MacArthur and his valiant men with a contribution of whatever amount you can afford.

It's going to be a costly project. The preliminary estimate is 6 million dollars.

In fact, I am told that nearly $100,000, $96,800 to be exact, must be raised in the next 45 days to get this project underway.

So, if you can contribute $500, $1,000 or maybe even $10,000, then I hope you will do so. Your check will be tax deductible.

But believe me, if all you can send today is a donation of $10, or even less, I hope you'll send it.

It would make me extemely happy.

And, in this day and age of disrespect for our nation it would give you an opportunity to tell America that you love her and respect her flag.

But please, do take part in this project. Send a contribution to me today.

Sincerely,

R.G. Butler

R.G. Butler, Major General
United States Army (Ret.)

P.S. Don't forget to let me know whether or not I can include your name on the Honor Roll which will pay tribute to General MacArthur and his men and which will be sealed at the base of the Korean War Memorial. Let me hear from you today.

P.P.S. I'm pleased to tell you that the National Committee for the Korean War Memorial has arranged for the creation of a special commemorative copy of General MacArthur's farewell address to the United States Congress upon his return from Korea. Historians have already cited this speech as one of the great classics of our century. If you can send as much as $25 or more to me, I'll make certain that a cassette of this speech is sent to you. It's a speech you'll want your children to hear. Thank you and God bless you.

**PERSONAL REPLY TO MAJ. GEN. BUTLER**

Major General R.G. Butler
United States Army (Ret.)
National Committee for the
Korean War Memorial
1712 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Major General Butler,

____Yes, please place my name on your Honor Roll in tribute to General Douglas MacArthur and the nearly six million Americans who served with him during the Korean conflict. This special Honor Roll will be permanently sealed at the base of the Korean War Memorial.

____Yes, I'll help you build this memorial to General MacArthur and his men by mailing you today:

___$10,000 ___$5,000 ___$1,000 ___$500
___$100 ___$50 ___$25 $___Other

(I'm making my tax-deductible check out to: Korean War Memorial)

____Yes, my contribution is for $25 or more. Please send me a cassette of General MacArthur's famous farewell address to Congress upon his return from Korea.

Mr./Mrs./Miss________________________________
Street________________________________________
City____________State_____________Zip___________
Phone (   )____________________________________

____No, do not place my name on your Honor Roll in tribute to General MacArthur and his men.

____No, I cannot make even a small contribution towards honoring our veterans of Korea--the only war in which our veterans have not been honored.

__Personal Reply Enclosed.

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO [illegible] WASHINGTON DC

*POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE*

Maj. Gen. R.G. Butler
United States Army (Ret.)
National Committee for the
Korean War Memorial
1712 Eye Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

M840

GENERAL J K SINGLAUB
PO BOX 585
TABERNASH CO 80478

161

22 – Rocky Mountain News Tues., May 22, 1984 Denver, Colo.

**ACTION LINE/by Amy Shapiro**

# Memorial sought for Korea vets

*Q. I received a letter signed by retired Maj. Gen. R.G. Butler, U.S. Army, that says Congress is in the process of authorizing construction of a memorial to Gen. Douglas MacArthur and those who fought in the Korean War. The letter asked that I send in a donation.*

*I have never heard of Gen. Butler or the memorial. Is this for real? — W.W., Federal Heights*

A. Gary Mundt, a member of Rep. Patricia Schroeder's Denver staff, checked into this and reports that Gen. Butler and the proposed memorial are indeed for real.

However, something in the solicitation letter wasn't — the statement that "The United States Congress has given its full endorsement and support to this project by authorizing its creation."

Rep. Charles Rose, D-N.C., and Sen. Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., have introduced bills to permit the memorial to be built on federal park land near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, Mundt said, but both are still held up in committee. Although the bills are expected to pass, hearings probably won't be scheduled until January 1985.

Mundt pointed out the mistake to a member of Rose's staff, who called Michael Panayotopoulos, secretary of the Korean War Memorial Committee, who promised to correct it.

Panayotopoulos said this clerical error was in about one-eighth of the 2 million solicitation letters mailed. The committee's direct-mail firm has now sent notices ("One of my assistants pointed out this serious error....") to all who received that letter, offering to refund donations on request.

Panayotopoulos said the memorial's cost is estimated at $6.5 million, of which about $400,000 had been raised. All funds, he said, will come from private contributors. Congress has been asked only to authorize the use of public land, not public money.

Myron E. McKee
Executive Director
National Committee for the
  Korean War Memorial
1712 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.  20006

Exhibit 4

A personal apology...

C802

National Committee for the
Korean War Memorial
1712 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Friend,

Please accept my heartfelt apology.

I made a mistake.

In a letter I sent you earlier, and to which you responded so generously, there was an unintentional error.

The letter stated "now that Congress has authorized the building of a Korean War Memorial...."

One of my assistants pointed out this serious error.

You see, the letter should have read "now that Congress is in the process of authorizing the building of a Korean War Memorial...."

It was a simple clerical error.

And I apologize for it.

But it gives me a chance to point out a serious problem you and I have in getting the memorial built.

Congress is dragging its feet in passing the bill which will authorize a grant of federal land in Washington for the Korean War Memorial.

That's why I need your immediate help as an active member of the National Steering Committee.

By signing the enclosed postcards and sending them right away to Congress, you can let your opinion be known where it will do the most good.

You see, there are two bills before Congress right now--HJR236 in the House, introduced by Rep. Charles Rose (D., North Carolina), and SJ97 in the Senate, introduced by Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R. Minnesota).

Each bill has wide bi-partisan support. 64 Senators have sponsored the Senate version, and 166 Representatives have sponsored the House version.

Right now, their passage is held up in committees.

From meeting with Congressmen on the hill, I know that right now is the best time for you to show your support--as a member

(over, please)

of the National Steering Committee.

As a citizen and as a member of this committee, your voice carries a great deal of weight with the Congress.

And Congress needs to hear from you--because as a loyal supporter and builder of the Korean War Memorial, you have a right to full consideration.

Our many friends--yours and mine--in the Congress welcome your expression of opinion on these bills.

Especially now.

As you know, it's an election year.

A time when many bills come to the attention of the Congress --and when things tend to get lost in the shuffle.

It's not malice--far from it.

But you know as well as I do that the most important voice in Washington is your voice.

Your opinion right now is crucial in moving these bills out of committee and into the floors of both houses.

As you can see, support for the bills is very great in both houses of Congress.

But unless the bills are voted on very soon, you and I may have to wait another year to start building the memorial in Washington.

Each version of the bill before Congress would grant a piece of federal land in Washington for the building of a Korean War Memorial.

I'm sure you see the urgency of the enclosed postcards, and your action in this matter.

Your personal support today can make the difference in our time schedule.

I know that Senator Paul Laxalt, James Michener, former President Gerald R. Ford, General Paul Freeman, and the other members of our National Board of Sponsors will be grateful for your immediate help.

And for your continued support of the cost of the memorial.

As you and I move toward our cherished goal of building a "traditional, compelling, and patriotic" memorial for the brave men who fought and died in Korea, could you renew your support with another personal gift?

The more of your generous support I can demonstrate to

(next page, please)

members of Congress, the more quickly we can move toward our goal.

The Korean War Memorial will be built but only as a result of your generous support.

I hope you can understand how I made an error.

But I also hope you can see that the error was made in haste, under the pressure of working night and day to get this patriotic job done.

For a memorial is very much needed.

It's been thirty-four years since North Korean enemies invaded South Korea--and since brave young Americans went to fight and die for freedom on the cold winter ridges in Korea.

But still, in all of Washington, no memorial honors them.

A new monument to the dead heroes of the Vietnam War now stands on the Mall, between the Lincoln Memorial and the Capitol.

But our task--yours and mine--to commemorate the Korean heroes remains unfinished.

If you can forgive my error, will you decide to continue as a member of the National Steering Committee?

I certainly hope and pray you will. But if you can't, I'll understand. Notify me and I'll refund your donation.

Because I very much need your help.

You see, donors and supporters to the Korean War Memorial are not treated as other causes might treat them.

As a donor, you really become a member of the National Steering Committee.

That means you'll be actively involved in every phase of the task.

You'll be invited to give your opinion to the Jury on Design, headed by Senator Jeremiah Denton, to see to it that the memorial you and I build is a suitable one.

You'll be invited to various national events to generate support.

And you'll be given a V.I.P. Invitation to the dedication, so that you and your family can meet with our National Sponsors and celebrate the completion of the task.

All along the way, you'll be kept informed.

(over, please)

If you agree that this is the best way to build a Korean War Memorial, and approve of the way I and the Board have been doing our jobs as volunteers...

...then please confirm your membership on the National Steering Committee by indicating your support on the enclosed reply form.

I will deeply appreciate your support, and your gift.

Together, you and I can achieve the grand task we've set for ourselves.

The task of honoring our fighting men as they should be honored.

If you will confirm our leadership, and your membership, could you please send $15, $20, $25, or $50 to forward the cause?

Or if you can, send $100, $500, $1000, or even $5000 to insure that a beautiful memorial is built in Washington--a memorial that's long overdue.

With God's help, you and I can meet the goal.

Sincerely,

Myron E McKee

Myron E. McKee
Executive Director

P.S. Don't forget, please, to check the enclosed reply form and send it to me. That way I'll know if you wish to continue as a valued member of the National Steering Committee. God bless you!

KWSA

LT COL JOHN F. KENNEY
8602 CYRUS PLACE
ALEXANDRIA VA 22308

**Personal Reply to Myron McKee,**
**The Board of Directors,**
**And the National Sponsoring Committee**

Dear Myron and Friends,

☐ Yes, I approve of the way you have been doing your job as volunteers on behalf of the Korean War Memorial!

☐ Yes, I want to continue to be considered a member of the National Steering Committee, and I appreciate being involved in the task.

☐ Yes, I'm sending the enclosed postcards to the U.S. Congress to let committee members know where I stand on building the Korean War Memorial.

☐ Yes, I want to help you build the memorial by enclosing a personal gift of

☐ $15 ☐ $20 ☐ $25 ☐ $50 ☐ $100
☐ $250 ☐ $500 ☐ $1000 ☐ $5000

I know my check is tax-deductible, and I have made my check payable to:

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, 1712 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

☐ No, I no longer wish to help you, and I do not approve of your volunteer work on behalf of the memorial.

Name______________________________________
Address____________________________________
City____________________State____Zip________
Phone Number______________________________

168

Dear Representative Augustus Hawkins:

As a member of the National Steering Committee, National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, I personally urge you to hold hearings and move HJR236 (introduced by Rep. Charles Rose) to the House floor for passage.

As a donor to and supporter of this cause, I believe the building of a Korean War Memorial is long overdue, and that the brave men who fought and died in that war for freedom should be suitably memorialized in Washington, D.C.

Signed ____________________
Address ____________________
City ____________ State ________ Zip ________

Dear Senator Matthias:

As a member of the National Steering Committee, National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, I personally urge you to hold hearings and move SJ97 (introduced by Senator Rudy Boschwitz) to the Senate floor for passage.

As a donor to and supporter of this cause, I believe the building of a Korean War Memorial is long overdue, and that the brave men who fought and died in that war for freedom should be suitably memorialized in Washington, D.C.

Signed ____________________
Address ____________________
City ____________ State ________ Zip ________

____Personal Reply Enclosed

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO 14266 WASHINGTON DC

*POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE*

Myron E. McKee
Executive Director
National Committee for the
Korean War Memorial
1712 Eye Street NW
Washington DC 20006

EXHIBIT 5

1 A. Sun., Oct. 20, 1985 Minneapolis Star and Tribune

# Controversy dogs Korean War memorial booster

Myron McKee

By David Phelps
Staff Correspondent

Washington, D.C.
This is a story about Myron McKee, a heretofore little-known Minnesota educator who became the driving force behind national fund-raising efforts to build a Korean War Memorial and in the process, according to his critics, left a trail of ill will, questionable financial dealings and raucous personal relationships.

Primarily under McKee's guidance, nearly $700,000 was raised for the war memorial in less than three years, much of it from war veterans and war widows. But almost none of that money will ever be used to build the monument.

That's because the contributions were used to pay for a professional fund-raiser, telephone calls back home to Minnesota and the utility bills of a dilapidated Washington townhouse known as the Officer's Service Club, which served at various times as KcKee's home and fund-raising headquarters.

Ninety-seven cents of every $1 contributed went toward administrative and fund-raising costs. By comparison, organizers of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund collected approximately $9 million in less than 3 years and spent only about one-fourth of that amount on fund-raising costs.

McKee's critics have alleged that some of the funds were diverted for McKee's personal use, including an unsuccessful 1984 bid for Congress in Minnesota's First District. Records of the Federal Election Commission (FEC) show that McKee attempted to finance that race with a $62,300 loan. When the FEC raised questions about the source of the loan, McKee withdrew it.

McKee denies that and other accusations spawned by his activities and blames much of the criticism on a disgruntled Korean national who founded the National Committee for a Korean War Memorial (NCKWM) and was later fired by McKee after he became the organization's president.

McKee continued on page 14A

# McKee

Continued from page 1A

The committee's founder, Chayon Kim, has alleged in a lawsuit filed in Superior Court for the District of Columbia that, "McKee has absconded and embezzled NCKWM funds, has diverted funds of NCKWM to his own personal use, and has endorsed and otherwise personally taken for himself funds which were solicited by NCKWM for NCKWM purposes."

In response to the charges, McKee said in an interview last week: "It's like somebody once told me. If you do something to an Oriental that causes them to lose face, they never forget."

McKee says he resigned from the NCKWM, which changed its name to Korean War Memorial Inc., last fall, when it was decided by the organization's board that only Korean veterans should be officers. Nonetheless, during his tenure as committee director, 80 percent of its funds were raised and spent.

As a result of infighting between the rival groups, Congress is beginning to look askance at legislation giving fund-raising responsibilities for the war memorial to any private organization. Instead, hearings are scheduled for this week to appropriate $5 million in federal funds for a war memorial and to give responsibilities for further fund-raising and construction to the American Battle Monument Commission, an independent government agency. Passage is expected.

The storm around McKee's handling of the Korean War Memorial drive is not surprising to those who have followed his career.

McKee came to Washington in 1981 to serve as an unpaid volunteer for the Reagan transition team. A new-right Republican, he attempted to promote his conservative ideology to maximum advantage, building a list of political references — some with their approval and some without. McKee then used that list to open doors that otherwise might not have opened for a small-town school administrator.

He sought a variety of government jobs and listed as references such Minnesota Republicans as Sen. Dave Durenberger — who wrote in a letter of reference that McKee "is not only a highly respected managerial professional but also considered an articulate spokesman for a variety of conservative causes" — and Rep. Vin Weber, who stated flatly in an interview that "I did not know that my name was being used as a reference."

McKee currently works at Action, the federal agency which oversees volunteer programs.

McKee joined the National Committee for the Korean War Memorial in the middle of 1982 at the request of Kim, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Korea who had founded the organization in 1981.

McKee says Kim asked for his help because of his revitalization of a private Washington, D.C., club for conservatives, called the Officers' Service Club. McKee, who said he had hopes of becoming the club's salaried manager once it was back on its feet, found a financial backer to help pull the club out of bankruptcy.

That backer was Gen. C.M. Talbot, whose conservative organization, the Military Order of the World Wars, negotiated a loan through McKee for the club. But Talbot, whose group's commitment to the club eventually grew to $400,000, says he would not enter such an agreement again.

By December, 1982, McKee and Kim were at odds over running the Korean war memorial committee and McKee persuaded the committee's directors to remove her from their board for allegedly making unauthorized expenditures — an allegation that Kim denies.

At McKee's urging, the war memorial committee embarked on an aggressive fund-raising effort at the beginning of 1983 and entered into a contract with Bruce W. Eberle & Associates, a northern Virginia fund-raising firm that specializes in mass mail solicitation.

McKee said the idea of hiring Eberle was to build a mailing list of at least 20,000 names for the committee to use throughout its fund-raising drive. He said initial costs were expected to be high, since the committee had no mailing list and was forced to rent lists compiled by other organizations.

Financial records filed by the committee with the IRS indicate that the cost of buying those lists, plus postage and consultants fees took 87 cents of every $1 contributed to the committee.

From July 1, 1982, through Aug. 31, 1983, the committee raised $883,925, according to financial statements; the fund-raiser's expenses totaled $601,000. Other expenses incurred by the committee left it with a balance of $1,761.

Kim said she was against the idea of hiring a professional fund-raiser because she had already begun discussions with several veterans organizations to use their mailing lists free of charge.

The fund-raising campaign, as directed by McKee, was not subtle in its approach to contributors. Many mailings included a reply card that had a number of boxes which the contributor could check. These cards typically contained language such as the following: "Yes, please place my name on your honor role in tribute to General Douglas MacArthur.... Yes, I'll help you build this memorial.... No, do not place my name on your Honor Roll in tribute to General MacArthur and his men.... No, I cannot make even a small contribution towards honoring our veterans of Korea...."

Meanwhile, the war memorial committee was coming under increasing criticism for its tactics and some of its early backers, including Gen. John K. Singlaub and the nephew of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, ended their affiliation in disagreement with the committee's operation.

Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II, meanwhile, allowed his name to be used for one fund-raising letter only to discover appeals for contributions being mailed under his name nearly a year later without his permission.

Similarly, U.S. Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt, R-Ark., withdrew his support of legislation sought by McKee's group authorizing the construction of a memorial with no public funds because of the committee's internal problems.

The name of Rep. Bruce Vento, D-Minn., on the other hand, still appears on the committee's letterhead stationery as a member of its "National Sponsoring Committee" even though Vento told McKee two years ago that he didn't want to be included on that list. Likewise, the name of Sen. Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., is on the sponsoring list although no one on his staff recalls giving permission for its use.

McKee blames Kim for spreading negative information about him and the committee's fund-raising efforts. But an aide for Hammerschmidt said that isn't the case. Ray Reid, the congressman's administrative assistant, said Hammerschmidt received negative reports about the committee "from more than one source."

In early 1984, while still on the war memorial board of directors, McKee decided to seek the Republican nomination for Congress in south-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

home near Rollingstone. In April of that year, McKee filed his first campaign finance report, which revealed a $93,300 personal loan from himself.

McKee denies allegations that the funds were from the Korean War memorial effort. He said last week that the loan represented a second mortgage which he and his family intended to take out on real estate that they owned. When he found out that such a loan would be in violation of contribution limits for family members, the idea was dropped, and the campaign was financed primarily on a $5,300 loan from McKee. The last campaign finance report filed by McKee listed debts of $18,000.

The campaign finance report and records of the National Committee for a Korean War Memorial also show that one of the NCKWM employees was contacting delegates for McKee's campaign at the same time she was making telephone solicitations for the war memorial committee. That employee, Lori Sason, received $800 from McKee's campaign committee and $700 from the war memorial committee during the same payroll period before the congressional endorsing convention in Minnesota. McKee said Sason received payment for two different jobs that did not overlap.

McKee has denied any impropriety.

"All the money used in my campaign is traceable to the bank account and contributors," he said.

McKee is no stranger to controversy. It has followed him to nearly every job or post he's held.

He was fired from a principal's job in La Crosse, Wis., in 1977 because of his controversial disciplinary methods which the school board felt were excessive.

In 1980, the school board in MacGregor, Minn., declined to renew his contract as superintendent after he had a hallway scuffle with a 15-year-old girl and transferred $450,000 in school funds from local banks to a Chicago bank.

"The board was happy to get rid of him, the teachers moreso," said board president Robert Laajala.

McKee takes such comments in stride. "If you're going to make any difference, you're going to have cri

The Home Behind The Name.

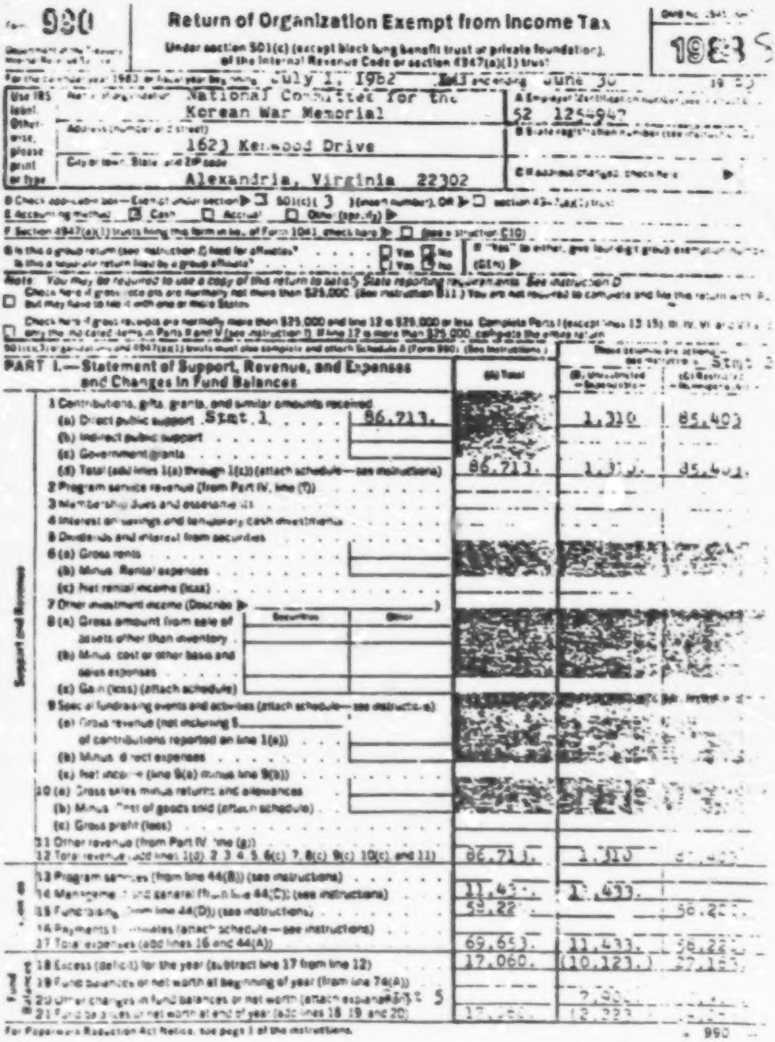
People choose apartments for a variety of reasons: their elegance and refinement, the security and privacy, for that certain location, because of the name attached. At Marquette Place each and every reason is satisfied and we offer you yet another: the quality of life that makes an apartment a home.

Marquette Place is truly the most elegant and sophisticated apartment residence you can live in anywhere and feel right at home.

MARQUETTE PLACE

Excellence. And years ahead.

## EXHIBIT 6



Form **990** | **Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax** | 1983

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Under section 501(c) (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) of the Internal Revenue Code or section 4947(a)(1) trust

For the calendar year 1983 or fiscal year beginning July 1, 1982 1983 and ending June 30 19 83

Use IRS label. Otherwise, please print or type

Name of organization: National Committee for the Korean War Memorial

Address (number and street): 1623 Kenwood Drive

City or town, State, and ZIP code: Alexandria, Virginia 22302

A Employer identification number: 52 1254947

B State registration number

C If address changed, check here ▶ ☐

D Check applicable box—Exempt under section ▶ ☒ 501(c)( 3 ) (insert number), OR ▶ ☐ section 4947(a)(1) trust

E Accounting method: ☒ Cash ☐ Accrual ☐ Other (specify) ▶

F Section 4947(a)(1) trusts filing this form in lieu of Form 1041, check here ▶ ☐ (see instruction C10)

G Is this a group return (see instruction C) filed for affiliates? ☐ Yes ☒ No
Is this a separate return filed by a group affiliate? ☐ Yes ☒ No

H If "Yes" to either, give four-digit group exemption number (GEN) ▶

Note: You may be required to use a copy of this return to satisfy State reporting requirements. See instruction D

☐ Check here if gross receipts are normally not more than $25,000 (See instruction B11.) You are not required to complete and file this return with IRS but may have to file it with one or more States.

☐ Check here if gross receipts are normally more than $25,000 and line 12 is $25,000 or less. Complete Parts I (except lines 13-15), III, IV, VI and VII and only the indicated items in Parts II and V (see instruction D). If line 12 is more than $25,000, complete the entire return.

501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) trusts must also complete and attach Schedule A (Form 990). (See Instructions.)

**PART I.—Statement of Support, Revenue, and Expenses and Changes in Fund Balances**

Support and Revenue

| | | (A) Total | (B) Unrestricted —Expendable— | (C) Restricted —Nonexpendable— |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received: | | | | |
| (a) Direct public support Stmt 1 | 86,713. | | 1,310 | 85,403 |
| (b) Indirect public support | | | | |
| (c) Government grants | | | | |
| (d) Total (add lines 1(a) through 1(c)) (attach schedule—see instructions) | | 86,713. | 1,310. | 85,403. |
| 2 Program service revenue (from Part IV, line (f)) | | | | |
| 3 Membership dues and assessments | | | | |
| 4 Interest on savings and temporary cash investments | | | | |
| 5 Dividends and interest from securities | | | | |
| 6 (a) Gross rents | | | | |
| (b) Minus: Rental expenses | | | | |
| (c) Net rental income (loss) | | | | |
| 7 Other investment income (Describe ▶ ) | | | | |
| 8 (a) Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory | Securities / Other | | | |
| (b) Minus: cost or other basis and sales expenses | | | | |
| (c) Gain (loss) (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 9 Special fundraising events and activities (attach schedule—see instructions) | | | | |
| (a) Gross revenue (not including $ of contributions reported on line 1(a)) | | | | |
| (b) Minus: direct expenses | | | | |
| (c) Net income (line 9(a) minus line 9(b)) | | | | |
| 10 (a) Gross sales minus returns and allowances | | | | |
| (b) Minus: Cost of goods sold (attach schedule) | | | | |
| (c) Gross profit (loss) | | | | |
| 11 Other revenue (from Part IV, line (g)) | | | | |
| 12 Total revenue (add lines 1(d), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6(c), 7, 8(c), 9(c), 10(c), and 11) | | 86,713. | 1,310 | 85,403. |

Expenses

| | | (A) Total | (B) Unrestricted —Expendable— | (C) Restricted —Nonexpendable— |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 Program services (from line 44(B)) (see instructions) | | | | |
| 14 Management and general (from line 44(C)) (see instructions) | | 11,433. | 11,433. | |
| 15 Fundraising (from line 44(D)) (see instructions) | | 58,22 | | 58,22 |
| 16 Payments to affiliates (attach schedule—see instructions) | | | | |
| 17 Total expenses (add lines 16 and 44(A)) | | 69,653. | 11,433. | 58,22 |

Fund Balances

| | | (A) Total | (B) Unrestricted —Expendable— | (C) Restricted —Nonexpendable— |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 Excess (deficit) for the year (subtract line 17 from line 12) | | 17,060. | (10,123.) | 27,18 |
| 19 Fund balances or net worth at beginning of year (from line 74(A)) | | | | |
| 20 Other changes in fund balances or net worth (attach explanation) | 5 | | 7,90 | [illegible] |
| 21 Fund balances or net worth at end of year (add lines 18, 19, and 20) | | 17,[illegible] | 12,223 | [illegible] |

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the instructions.

990

Form 990 (1981)

## PART II.—Statement of Functional Expenses

All organizations must complete column (A). Columns (B), (C), and (D) are required for most section 501(c)(3) and (4) organizations and 4947(a)(1) trusts but optional for others. (See instructions.)

| Do not include amounts reported on line 6(b), 8(b), 9(b), 10(b), or 16 of Part I. | (A) Total | (B) Program services | (C) Management and general | (D) Fundraising |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 Grants and allocations (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 23 Specific assistance to individuals | | | | |
| 24 Benefits paid to or for members | | | | |
| 25 Compensation of officers, directors, etc | | | | |
| 26 Other salaries and wages | | | | |
| 27 Pension plan contributions | | | | |
| 28 Other employee benefits | | | | |
| 29 Payroll taxes | | | | |
| 30 Professional fundraising fees Stmt 2 | 58,220. | | | 58,220. |
| 31 Accounting fees | | | | |
| 32 Legal fees | | | | |
| 33 Supplies | | | | |
| 34 Telephone | 328. | | 328. | |
| 35 Postage and shipping | | | | |
| 36 Occupancy | 2,261. | | 2,261. | |
| 37 Equipment rental and maintenance | | | | |
| 38 Printing and publications | 1,369. | | 1,369. | |
| 39 Travel | 1,194. | | 1,194. | |
| 40 Conferences, conventions and meetings | | | | |
| 41 Interest | 36. | | 36. | |
| 42 Depreciation, depletion, etc (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 43 Other expenses (itemize) (a) | | | | |
| (b) Prof. Services/Subcont | 3,105. | | 3,105. | |
| (c) Public Relations | 138. | | 138. | |
| (d) Bank Charges | 87. | | 87. | |
| (e) Office Sup/Expenses | 2,915. | | 2,915. | |
| (f) | | | | |
| 44 Total functional expenses (add lines 22 through 43) | 69,653. | | 11,433. | 58,220. |

## PART III.—Statement of Program Services Rendered N/A

| List each program service title on lines (a) through (d); for each, identify the service output(s) or product(s) and report the quantity provided. Enter the total expenses attributable to each program service and the amount of grants and allocations included in that total. (See instructions for Part III.) | Expenses (Optional for some organizations—see instructions) |
|---|---|
| (a) (Grants and allocations $ ) | |
| (b) (Grants and allocations $ ) | |
| (c) (Grants and allocations $ ) | |
| (d) (Grants and allocations $ ) | |
| (e) Other program service activities (attach schedule) (Grants and allocations $ ) | |
| (f) Total (add lines (a) through (e)) (should equal line 44(B)) | |

## PART IV.—Program Service Revenue and Other Revenue (State Nature)

| | | Program service revenue | Other revenue |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | Fees from government agencies N/A | | |
| (b) | | | |
| (c) | | | |
| (d) | | | |
| (e) | | | |
| (f) | Total program service revenue (enter here and on line 2) | | |
| (g) | Total other revenue (enter here and on line 11) | | |

## PART V.—Balance Sheets

If line 12, Part I, and line 59 are $25,000 or less, you should complete [illegible] 56, 66 and 74 [illegible] use fund accounting, line 73. If line 12 or line 59 is more than $25,000, complete the [illegible] instructions.

Note: Columns (C) and (D) are optional. Columns (A) and (B) must be completed to the extent applicable. Where required, attached schedules should be for end-of-year amounts only.

| | | (A) Beginning of year | End of year (B) Total | (C) [illegible] | (D) [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Assets** | N/A | | | |
| 45 | Cash—non-interest bearing | | 23,176. | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 46 | Savings and temporary cash investments | | | | |
| 47 | Accounts receivable ▶ minus allowance for doubtful accounts ▶ | | | | |
| 48 | Pledges receivable ▶ minus allowance for doubtful accounts ▶ | | | | |
| 49 | Grants receivable | | | | |
| 50 | Receivables due from officers, directors, trustees and key employees (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 51 | Other notes and loans receivable ▶ minus allowance for doubtful accounts ▶ | | | | |
| 52 | Inventories for sale or use (Stmt 6) | | 1,000. | 1,000. | |
| 53 | Prepaid expenses and deferred charges | | | | |
| 54 | Investments—securities (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 55 | Investments—land, buildings and equipment, basis ▶ minus accumulated depreciation ▶ (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 56 | Investments—other (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 57 | Land, buildings and equipment, basis ▶ 3,300. minus accumulated depreciation ▶ (attach schedule) | | 3,300. | 3,300. | |
| 58 | Other assets | | | | |
| 59 | Total assets (add lines 45 through 58) | | 27,476. | 9,173. | [illegible] |
| | **Liabilities** | | | | |
| 60 | Accounts payable and accrued expenses | | | | |
| 61 | Grants payable | | | | |
| 62 | Support and revenue designated for future periods (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 63 | Loans from officers, directors, trustees and key employees (attach schedule) Stmt 3 | | 2,896 | 2,896. | |
| 64 | Mortgages and other notes payable (attach schedule) Stmt 4 | | 7,500 | 7,500. | |
| 65 | Other liabilities | | | | |
| 66 | Total liabilities (add lines 60 through 65) | | 10,396. | [illegible] | |
| | **Fund Balances or Net Worth** | | | | |
| | Organizations that use fund accounting, check here ▶ ☒ and complete lines 67 through 70 and lines 74 and 75. | | | | |
| 67 | Current funds | | (2,223. | 2,223. | |
| 68 | Land, buildings and equipment fund | | | | |
| 69 | Endowment fund | | | | |
| 70 | Other funds (Describe ▶ Escrow Fund) | | 19,283. | | 19,283. |
| | Organizations that do not use fund accounting, check here ▶ ☐ and complete lines 71 through 75. | | | | |
| 71 | Capital stock or trust principal | | | | |
| 72 | Paid-in or capital surplus | | | | |
| 73 | Retained earnings or accumulated income | | | | |
| 74 | Total fund balances or net worth (see instructions) | | [illegible] | 2,223. | [illegible] |
| 75 | Total liabilities and fund balances/net worth (see instructions) | | [illegible] | 9,173. | [illegible] |

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**PART VI.—List of Officers, Directors, and Trustees (List each officer, director, and trustee whether compensated or not.) (See Instructions)**

| (A) Name and address | (B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position | (C) Compensation (if any) | (D) Contributions to employee benefit plans | (E) Expense account and other allowances |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEE STATEMENT 7 | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

**PART VII.—Other Information**

Yes No

76 Has the organization engaged in any activities not previously reported to the Internal Revenue Service? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of the activities.

77 Have any changes been made in the organizing or governing documents, but not reported to IRS? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes.

78 (a) Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of $1,000 or more during the year covered by this return?

(b) If "Yes," have you filed a tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year?

(c) If the organization has gross sales or receipts from business activities not reported on Form 990-T, attach a statement explaining your reason for not reporting them on Form 990-T.

79 Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year (see instructions)? If "Yes," attach a statement as described in the instructions.

80 Is the organization related (other than by association with a statewide or nationwide organization) through common membership, governing bodies, trustees, officers, etc., to any other exempt or nonexempt organization (see instructions)? If "Yes," enter the name of organization ▶ ............ and check whether it is ☐ exempt OR ☐ nonexempt

81 (a) Enter amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions

(b) Did you file Form 1120-POL, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year?

82 Did your organization receive donated services or the use of materials, equipment or facilities at no charge or at substantially less than fair rental value? . Statement 8

If "Yes," you may indicate the value of these items here. Do not include this amount as support in Part I or as an expense in Part II. See instructions for reporting in Part III ▶

83 *Section 501(c)(5) or (6) organizations* —Did the organization spend any amounts in attempts to influence public opinion about legislative matters or referendums (see instructions and Regulations section 1.162-20(c))? If "Yes," enter the total amount spent for this purpose . Statement 9 Stmt 9

84 *Section 501(c)(7) organizations* —Enter amount of: N/A

(a) Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 12

(b) Gross receipts, included in line 12, for public use of club facilities (see instructions)

(c) Does the club's governing instrument or any written policy statement provide for discrimination against any person because of race, color, or religion (see instructions)?

85 *Section 501(c)(12) organizations* — Enter amount of: N/A

(a) Gross income received from members or shareholders

(b) Gross income received from other sources (do not net amounts due or paid to other sources against amounts due or received from them)

86 *Public interest law firms* —Attach information described in instructions. N/A

87 List the States with which a copy of this return is filed ▶ District of Columbia

88 During this tax year did you maintain any part of your accounting/tax records on a computerized system?

89 The books are in care of ▶ The Corporation/Escrowe Telephone No. ▶ (703)232-[illegible]

Located at ▶ Alexandria, VA/Manassas, VA (703)368-3533

**Please Sign Here** Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than taxpayer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

▶ CLIENT S CO

Signature of officer Date ▶ Title

**Paid Preparer's Use Only**

Preparer's signature ▶ Date Check if self-employed ▶ ☐

Firm's name (or yours, if self-employed) and address ▶ Donna [illegible]

15610 [illegible] Crestwood Drive ZIP code ▶ 2211

Manassas, VA

National Committee for the
Korean War Memorial
990 - 1983
EIN - 52-12[illegible].7

## STATEMENT 1: DIRECT PUBLIC SUPPORT

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue Generated by Outside Professional Fundraiser | $ 85,402. |
| Other Contributions | 1,311. |
| | $ 86,713. |

A car, FMV of $1,500., was donated by an individual to the organization August 1983. Due to extensive repairs needed after two months use, the auto was retired with no salvage value. Due to the limited use of the auto, and the disposition, the value of this donation is not included in revenue.

## STATEMENT 2: PROFESSIONAL FUNDRAISING FEES

An outside professional fundraiser is contracted to conduct a direct mail campaign for the organization. The contributions generated by the fundraiser are deposited in a separate, restricted escrow fund. The expenses directly associated with the fundraising are, likewise, paid from this escrow fund. The expenses paid from the escrow fund during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1983 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Postage | $ 38,830. |
| Printing | 5,925. |
| Envelopes | 4,681. |
| List Rental Fees | 4,366. |
| Creative Fees | 4,187. |
| Escrowee Fees | 176. |
| Bank Charges | 29. |
| Computer Costs | 20. |
| Caging Fees | 6. |
| | $ 58,220. |

National Committee for the
Korean War Memorial
[illegible] 1983
[illegible]
Page Two

STATEMENT 3: LOANS FROM OFFICERS

| NAME | TITLE | ORIGINAL AMT. | BALANCE DUE |
|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible]<br>Washington, D.C. | President<br>[illegible] | 3,79[illegible]. | 2,8[illegible]. |

The President and other individuals used their personal funds to purchase a word processor for $3,300 during April 1983. The President's share of the cost was $1,900 of which $900 had been repaid as of June 30, 1983.

The President also loaned the organization cash totaling $1,896 during April 1983 for the purpose of paying general and administrative expenses.

No formal notes were executed for the above interest-free loans. The organization is to repay the loans when funds are available.

STATEMENT 4: NOTES PAYABLE

| LENDER | ORIGINAL AMT. | BALANCE DUE |
|---|---|---|
| First American Bank<br>Washington, D.C. | 10,000. | 7,500. |

During November 1983, the organization received a $30,000 line of credit from First American Bank for the purpose of paying general and administrative, fundraising and program service expenses. Of the $30,000 available, the organization received $10,000 during November 1983 of which $2,500 was repaid as of June 30, 1983.

STATEMENT 5: CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES

Transfer of $7,900 from Fundraising Escrow Fund to General Fund.

STATEMENT 6: PREPAID EXPENSES

Retainer fee for architectural services for future services re memorial site selection, landscaping, etc.

[illegible]
[illegible] War Memorial
[illegible]
[illegible]-947
[illegible]

STATEMENT 7: LIST OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

| Name | Title | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Myron [illegible]<br>Washington, D.C. | Pres./<br>Ex. Dir. | 40 | 0 |
| Douglas MacArthur<br>Washington, D.C. | Dir. | 2 | 0 |
| Timothy Hallinan<br>Falls Church, VA. | Dir. | 1 | 0 |
| Kenneth Scheibel<br>Washington, D.C. | Dir. | 1 | 0 |
| Scot Faulkner<br>Falls Church, VA | Dir. | 1 | 0 |
| William George, Esq.<br>Minneapolis, MN | Dir./Legal<br>Counc. | 1 | 0 |
| [illegible] Brown<br>Washington, D.C. | Dir./<br>Sec. | 0 | 0 |

STATEMENT 8: DONATED SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT

No donated services were received except the services of volunteers, i.e., the directors and officers.

STATEMENT 9: LEGISLATIVE MATTER

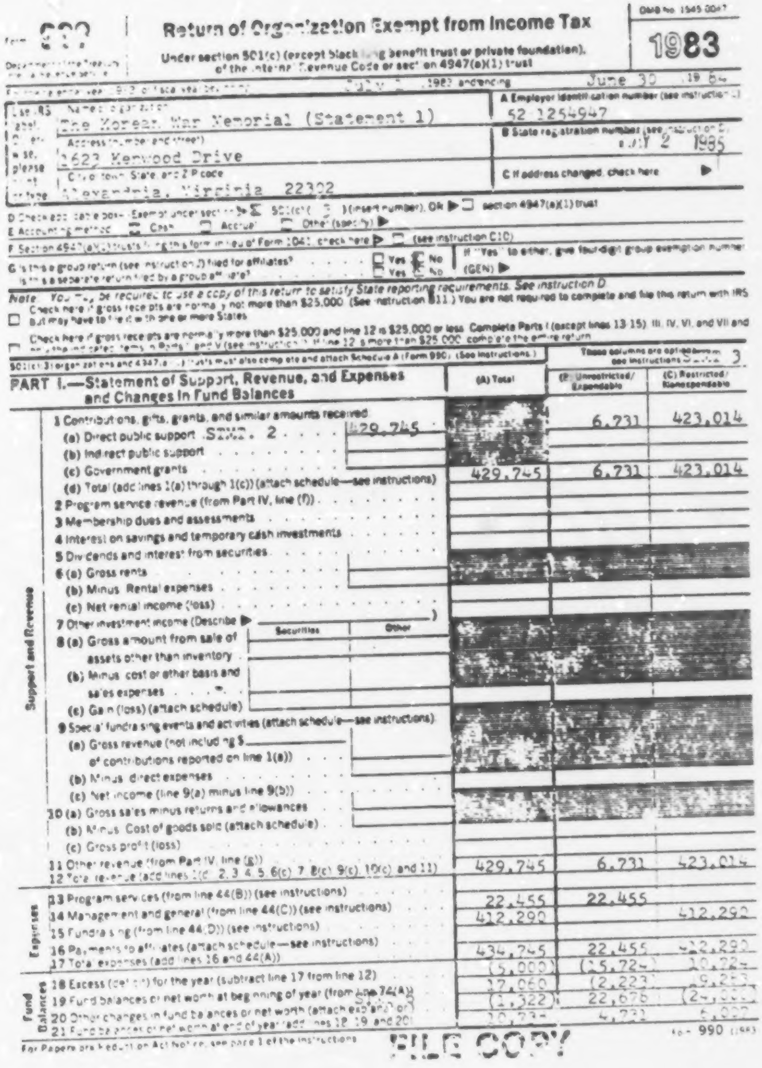
One direct mail solicitation letter, urged the recipient to contact his legislator for the purpose of supporting legislation to donate land to erect the Korean War Memorial. (See attached Legislative Joint Resolution.)

Since this letter was a solicitation of funds, as well as urging legislative support, it is difficult, to extract the exact expenses paid or incurred for this activity.

## STATEMENT 10: REIMBURSEMENT OF EXPENSES TO OFFICERS

During the inception of this organization, expenses were incurred in which the officers paid from their personal funds. Examples of such expenses were rent, telephone, office supplies, a word processor and travel. As funds became available the officers were reimbursed for these expenses. From November 5, 1982 - June 30, 1983, the President was reimbursed $900 for the purchase of a word processor (See Statement 3) and $270 for general and administrative expenses. From November 5, 1982 - June 30, 1983, the former treasurer was reimbursed $1,338 for general and administrative expenses and $1,194 for travel expenses.

EXHIBIT 7



Form 990 | **Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax**

Under section 501(c) (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation), of the Internal Revenue Code or section 4947(a)(1) trust

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

OMB No. 1545-0047

**1983**

For the calendar year 1983 or fiscal year beginning July 1, 1983, and ending June 30, 1984

Use IRS label. Otherwise, please print or type.

Name of organization: The Korean War Memorial (Statement 1)

Address (number and street): 1623 Kenwood Drive

City or town, State, and ZIP code: Alexandria, Virginia 22302

A Employer identification number (see instruction ..): 52-1254947

B State registration number (see instruction ..): MAY 2 1985

C If address changed, check here ▶ ☐

D Check applicable box—Exempt under section ▶ ☒ 501(c)( 3 ) (insert number), OR ▶ ☐ section 4947(a)(1) trust

E Accounting method: ☒ Cash ☐ Accrual ☐ Other (specify) ▶

F Section 4947(a)(1) trusts filing this form in lieu of Form 1041, check here ▶ ☐ (see instruction C10)

G Is this a group return (see instruction J) filed for affiliates? ☐ Yes ☒ No

Is this a separate return filed by a group affiliate? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If "Yes" to either, give four-digit group exemption number (GEN) ▶

*Note: You may be required to use a copy of this return to satisfy State reporting requirements. See instruction D*

☐ Check here if gross receipts are normally not more than $25,000 (See instruction B11.) You are not required to complete and file this return with IRS but may have to file it with one or more States.

☐ Check here if gross receipts are normally more than $25,000 and line 12 is $25,000 or less. Complete Parts I (except lines 13-15), III, IV, VI, and VII and only the indicated items in Parts II and V (see instructions). If line 12 is more than $25,000, complete the entire return.

501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) trusts must also complete and attach Schedule A (Form 990). (See instructions.)

These columns are optional—see instructions. Stmt. 3

## PART I.—Statement of Support, Revenue, and Expenses and Changes in Fund Balances

| | | | (A) Total | (B) Unrestricted/ Expendable | (C) Restricted/ Nonexpendable |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Support and Revenue | 1 Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received | | | 6,731 | 423,014 |
| | (a) Direct public support STMT. 2 | 429,745 | | | |
| | (b) Indirect public support | | | | |
| | (c) Government grants | | | | |
| | (d) Total (add lines 1(a) through 1(c)) (attach schedule—see instructions) | | 429,745 | 6,731 | 423,014 |
| | 2 Program service revenue (from Part IV, line (f)) | | | | |
| | 3 Membership dues and assessments | | | | |
| | 4 Interest on savings and temporary cash investments | | | | |
| | 5 Dividends and interest from securities | | | | |
| | 6 (a) Gross rents | | | | |
| | (b) Minus: Rental expenses | | | | |
| | (c) Net rental income (loss) | | | | |
| | 7 Other investment income (Describe ▶ ) | | | | |
| | | Securities / Other | | | |
| | 8 (a) Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory | | | | |
| | (b) Minus: cost or other basis and sales expenses | | | | |
| | (c) Gain (loss) (attach schedule) | | | | |
| | 9 Special fundraising events and activities (attach schedule—see instructions) | | | | |
| | (a) Gross revenue (not including $____ of contributions reported on line 1(a)) | | | | |
| | (b) Minus: direct expenses | | | | |
| | (c) Net income (line 9(a) minus line 9(b)) | | | | |
| | 10 (a) Gross sales minus returns and allowances | | | | |
| | (b) Minus: Cost of goods sold (attach schedule) | | | | |
| | (c) Gross profit (loss) | | | | |
| | 11 Other revenue (from Part IV, line (g)) | | | | |
| | 12 Total revenue (add lines 1(d), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6(c), 7, 8(c), 9(c), 10(c), and 11) | | 429,745 | 6,731 | 423,014 |
| Expenses | 13 Program services (from line 44(B)) (see instructions) | | 22,455 | 22,455 | |
| | 14 Management and general (from line 44(C)) (see instructions) | | 412,290 | | 412,290 |
| | 15 Fundraising (from line 44(D)) (see instructions) | | | | |
| | 16 Payments to affiliates (attach schedule—see instructions) | | | | |
| | 17 Total expenses (add lines 16 and 44(A)) | | 434,745 | 22,455 | 412,290 |
| Fund Balances | 18 Excess (deficit) for the year (subtract line 17 from line 12) | | (5,000) | (15,724) | 10,724 |
| | 19 Fund balances or net worth at beginning of year (from line 74(A)) | | 17,060 | (2,223) | 19,283 |
| | 20 Other changes in fund balances or net worth (attach explanation) Stmt. 3 | | (1,322) | 22,676 | (24,000) |
| | 21 Fund balances or net worth at end of year (add lines 18, 19, and 20) | | 10,738 | 4,731 | 6,007 |

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the instructions.

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Form 990 (1983)

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## PART IV.—Program Service Revenue and Other Revenue (State Nature)

| | | Program service revenue | Other revenue |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | Fees from government agencies | | |
| (b) | | | |
| (c) | | | |
| (d) | | | |
| (e) | | | |
| (f) | Total program service revenue (enter here and on line 2) | | |
| (g) | Total other revenue (enter here and on line 11) | | |

## PART V.—Balance Sheets

If line 12, Part I, and line 59 are $25,000 or less, you should complete only lines 59, 66, and 74 and, if you do not use fund accounting, line 73. If line 12 or line 59 is more than $25,000, complete the entire balance sheet. See instructions.

| Note: Columns (C) and (D) are optional. Columns (A) and (B) must be completed to the extent applicable. Where required, attached schedules should be for end of year amounts only | | (A) Beginning of year | End of year | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (B) Total | (C) Unrestricted/ Expendable | (D) Restricted/ Nonexpendable |
| | **Assets** | | | | |
| 45 | Cash—non-interest bearing | 23,156 | 8,733 | 2,726 | 6,007 |
| 46 | Savings and temporary cash investments | | | | |
| 47 | Accounts receivable ▶ ______ minus allowance for doubtful accounts ▶ ______ | | | | |
| 48 | Pledges receivable ▶ ______ minus allowance for doubtful accounts ▶ ______ | | | | |
| 49 | Grants receivable | | | | |
| 50 | Receivables due from officers, directors, trustees and key employees (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 51 | Other notes and loans receivable ▶ ______ minus allowance for doubtful accounts ▶ ______ | | | | |
| 52 | Inventories for sale or use | | | | |
| 53 | Prepaid expenses and deferred charges STMT 7 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | |
| 54 | Investments—securities (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 55 | Investments—land, buildings and equipment: basis ▶ ______ minus accumulated depreciation ▶ ______ (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 56 | Investments—other (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 57 | Land, buildings and equipment: basis ▶ 5,938 minus accumulated depreciation ▶ ______ (attach schedule) | 3,300 | 5,938 | 5,938 | |
| 58 | Other assets: Security Deposit | | 300 | 300 | |
| 59 | Total assets (add lines 45 through 58) | 27,456 | 15,971 | 9,964 | 6,007 |
| | **Liabilities** | | | | |
| 60 | Accounts payable and accrued expenses | | | | |
| 61 | Grants payable | | | | |
| 62 | Support and revenue designated for future periods (attach schedule) | | | | |
| 63 | Loans from officers, directors, trustees and key employees (attach schedule) STMT 4 | 2,896 | 970 | 970 | |
| 64 | Mortgages and other notes payable (attach schedule) STMT 5 | 7,500 | 3,500 | 3,500 | |
| 65 | Other liabilities STMT 6 | | 263 | 263 | |
| 66 | Total liabilities (add lines 60 through 65) | 10,396 | 5,233 | 5,233 | |
| | **Fund Balances or Net Worth** | | | | |
| | Organizations that use fund accounting, check here ▶ ☐ and complete lines 67 through 70 and lines 74 and 75. | | | | |
| 67 | Current funds | (2,223) | 4,731 | 4,731 | |
| 68 | Land, buildings and equipment fund | | | | |
| 69 | Endowment fund | | | | |
| 70 | Other funds (Describe ▶ Escrow Fund ) | 19,283 | 6,007 | | 6,007 |
| | Organizations that do not use fund accounting, check here ▶ ☐ and complete lines 71 through 75 | | | | |
| 71 | Capital stock or trust principal | | | | |
| 72 | Paid-in or capital surplus | | | | |
| 73 | Retained earnings or accumulated income | | | | |
| 74 | Total fund balances or net worth (see instructions) | 17,060 | 10,738 | 4,731 | 6,007 |
| 75 | Total liabilities and fund balances/net worth (see instructions) | 27,456 | 15,971 | 9,964 | 6,007 |

**PART VI.—List of Officers, Directors, and Trustees** (List each officer, director, and trustee whether compensated or not.) (See instructions)

| (A) Name and address | (B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position | (C) Compensation (if any) | (D) Contributions to employee benefit plans | (E) Expense account and other allowances |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| STATEMENT 9 | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

**PART VII.—Other Information**

| | | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| 76 | Has the organization engaged in any activities not previously reported to the Internal Revenue Service? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of the activities. | | X |
| 77 | Have any changes been made in the organizing or governing documents, but not reported to IRS? STMT 10. If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes See Attachments | X | |
| 78 | (a) Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of $1,000 or more during the year covered by this return? | | X |
| | (b) If "Yes," have you filed a tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year? | | |
| | (c) If the organization has gross sales or receipts from business activities not reported on Form 990-T, attach a statement explaining your reason for not reporting them on Form 990-T. | | |
| 79 | Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year (see instructions)? If "Yes," attach a statement as described in the instructions. | | X |
| 80 | Is the organization related (other than by association with a statewide or nationwide organization) through common membership, governing bodies, trustees, officers, etc., to any other exempt or nonexempt organization (see instructions)? If "Yes," enter the name of organization ▶ ........ and check whether it is ☐ exempt OR ☐ nonexempt. | | X |
| 81 | (a) Enter amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions none | | |
| | (b) Did you file Form 1120-POL, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year? | | X |
| 82 | Did your organization receive donated services or the use of materials, equipment or facilities at no charge or at substantially less than fair rental value? If "Yes," you may indicate the value of these items here. Do not include this amount as support in Part I or as an expense in Part II. See instructions for reporting in Part III ▶ | | X |
| 83 | *Section 501(c)(5) or (6) organizations.*—Did the organization spend any amounts in attempts to influence public opinion about legislative matters or referendums (see instructions and Regulations section 1.162-20(c))? STMT 12. If "Yes," enter the total amount spent for this purpose STMT 12 | X | |
| 84 | *Section 501(c)(7) organizations.*—Enter amount of: | | |
| | (a) Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 12 | | |
| | (b) Gross receipts, included in line 12, for public use of club facilities (see instructions) | | |
| | (c) Does the club's governing instrument or any written policy statement provide for discrimination against any person because of race, color, or religion (see instructions)? | | |
| 85 | *Section 501(c)(12) organizations.*—Enter amount of: | | |
| | (a) Gross income received from members or shareholders | | |
| | (b) Gross income received from other sources (do not net amounts due or paid to other sources against amounts due or received from them) | | |
| 86 | *Public interest law firms.*—Attach information described in instructions. | | |
| 87 | List the States with which a copy of this return is filed ▶ District of Columbia | | |
| 88 | During this tax year did you maintain any part of your accounting/tax records on a computerized system? | | X |
| 89 | The books are in care of ▶ The Corporation/Escrowe Telephone No. ▶ (703) 232-7739 (703) 368-3533<br>Located at ▶ Alexandria, VA/Manassas, VA | | |

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than taxpayer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Please Sign Here | ▶ Signature of officer | Date | ▶ Title |
| Paid Preparer's Use Only | Preparer's signature ▶ Donna K. Heidinger | Date 11/12/84 | Check if self-employed ▶ ☒ \| 467-66-8492 |
| | Firm's name (or yours, if self-employed) and address ▶ Donna K. Heidinger, C.P.A.<br>10410 Crestwood Dr./Manassas, VA | | ZIP code ▶ 22110 |

MAY 2 - 1985

KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL
EI # 52-1254947
990 1983

STATEMENT 1:

Name changed from National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, Inc. to The Korean War Memorial, Inc. May 25, 1984.

STATEMENT 2: DIRECT PUBLIC SUPPORT

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue Generated by Outside Professional Fundraiser | $ 423,014 |
| Other Contributions | 6,731 |
| | $ 429,745 |

STATEMENT 3: PROFESSIONAL FUNDRAISING FEES

An outside professional fundraiser is contracted to conduct a direct mail campaign for the organization. The contributions generated by the fundraiser are deposited in a separate, restricted escrow fund. The expenses directly associated with the fundraising are, likewise, paid from this escrow fund. The expenses paid from the escrow fund during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1984 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Lettershop | $ 38,437 |
| Postage | 110,979 |
| Printing | 49,739 |
| Envelopes | 39,915 |
| List Rental Fees | 81,746 |
| Creative Fees | 47,929 |
| Escrowee Fees | 4,019 |
| Bank Charges | 24 |
| Computer Costs | 12,287 |
| Caging Fees | 11,878 |
| Pictures & Tapes | 15,337 |
| | $ 412,290 |

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KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL
EI # 52-12549-7
990 1983

## STATEMENT 4: LOANS FROM DIRECTORS

| NAME | TITLE | ORIGINAL AMOUNT | BALANCE DUE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Myron McKee<br>Washington, D.C. | Director | $ 1,970 | $ 970 |

Mr. McKee, former President, loaned the organization cash totaling $1,550 during April 1983 for the purpose of paying general and administrative expenses. $1,000 of this loan was repaid.

The organization also owes Mr. McKee $420 for traveling expenses.

No formal notes were executed for the above interest-free loans. The organization is to repay the loans when funds are available.

## STATEMENT 5: NOTES PAYABLE

| LENDER | ORIGINAL AMOUNT | BALANCE DUE |
|---|---|---|
| First American Bank<br>Washington, D.C. | $ 10,000 | $ 3,500 |

During November 198~~3~~2, the organization received a $30,000 line of credit from First American Bank for the purpose of paying general and administrative, fundraising and program service expenses. Of the $30,000 available, the organization received $10,000 during November 198~~3~~2 of which $6,500 was repaid as of June 30, 1984.

KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL
EI # 52-1254947
990 1983

## STATEMENT 6: CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES

| Prior Period Adjustments: | General Fund | Escrow Fund | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interest expense on bank loans not previously recorded | (1,321) | | (1,321) |
| Rent - error in recording | 2 | | 2 |
| Lic fees to D.C. Treasurer not previously recorded | (3) | | (3) |
| Total Prior Period - Adjustments | (1,322) | | (1,322) |
| Transfers | | | |
| Transfers from Fundraising Escrow Fund to General Fund | 24,000 | (24,000) | -- |
| TOTAL CHANGES | 22,678 | (24,000) | (1,322) |

## STATEMENT 7: PREPAID EXPENSES

Retainer fee for architectural services for future services re memorial site selection, landscaping, etc.

## STATEMENT 8: OTHER LIABILITIES

| LENDER | ORIGINAL AMOUNT | BALANCE DUE |
|---|---|---|
| Xerox | 3,338 | 763 |

A copier was purchased from Xerox, 7/27/83 with a downpayment of $282.91. The remaining balance was to be paid over 12 months. No interest is being charged on the installment purchase.

[illegible]AN WAR MEMORIAL
EI # 52-125-9-7
990 1983

STATEMENT 9: LIST OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

| NAME | TITLE | HRS. PER WEEK AVG. | COMP., EXP. BENEFITS, ALLOWANCES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Edward R. Borcherdt, Jr.<br>Washington, D.C. | Pres. | 3 | 0 |
| Jack Messman<br>Rockville, MD | V.P. | .50 | 0 |
| Scott M. Faulkner<br>Falls Church, VA | Sec. | 1 | 0 |
| Kenneth Scheibel<br>Washington, D.C. | Treas. | 1.50 | 0 |
| Timothy Hallinan<br>Falls Church, VA | Dir. | 1.25 | 0 |
| Myron E. McKee<br>Washington, D.C. | Dir. | 2.25 | 0 |
| Robert L. Wilbraham<br>Lanham, MD | Dir. | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas G. Dehne<br>Cinn., Ohio | Dir. | 2 | 0 |
| William George<br>Minneapolis, MN | Dir. | 0 | 0 |

KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL
EI # 52-125-947
990 1983

**STATEMENT 10: CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZING OR GOVERNING DOCUMENTS**

The organization made the following changes:

Name changed from National Committee for the Korean War Memorial, Inc. to The Korean War Memorial, Inc.

Applied for a Certificate of Reinstatement with the District of Columbia.

Changed its registered agent from Myron E. McKee to Kenneth M. Scheibel.

(See attached copies of the Applications for Changes and Certificate of Reinstatement from the District of Columbia.)

**STATEMENT 11: DONATED SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT**

No donated services were received except the services of volunteers, i.e., the directors and officers.

**STATEMENT 12: LEGISLATIVE MATTER**

One direct mail solicitation letter, urged the recipient to send a postcard to the heads of the Congressional Committees in both Houses of Congress to express their support for legislation to donate land to erect the Korean War Memorial.

Since this letter was a solicitation of funds, as well as urging legislative support, it is difficult to extract the exact expenses paid or incurred for this activity. The amount of expenditures for this mail solicitation was approximately $15,000.

KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL
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990 1983

## STATEMENT 13: REIMBURSEMENT OF EXPENSES TO OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

During 7/1/83 to 6/30/84 the director M. McKee was reimbursed $1,000 for a loan he made to the organization April 1983 for general and administrative expenses. He also was reimbursed $1,100 of the $1,520 travel expenses he incurred during FYE 6/30/84. As funds become available, the remaining balance due M. McKee of $970 will be reimbursed.

# Fight within hurts effort for Korean War memorial

By RICK BOWERS
States News Service

WASHINGTON — Three years ago Peter Stumberger of Boca Raton sent more than $200 to a fund-raising group seeking to build a memorial here to the 55,000 Americans killed in the Korean War.

Stumberger, scarred in an artillery barrage near Porkchop Hill, is now wondering if the embattled fund-raising group will ever build a monument.

The little-known Korean War Memorial Inc., modeled after the successful private fund-raising drive that resulted in the national Vietnam Veterans Memorial, has been torn by a bitter power struggle and is in the red.

Corporate records, court documents, Internal Revenue Service reports, Federal Election Commission filings and interviews with past and present members paint a picture of an organization plagued by personality clashes and dogged by controversy.

The main points of contention are:

• The private, nonprofit corporation has raised more than $600,000 from 23,000 contributors since its inception in 1981 but has spent more than it has taken in. Directors say its resources have been plowed back into fund-raising or used to cover operating expenses.

• The organization is locked in a $500,000 suit scheduled for a pre-trial hearing in District of Columbia Superior Court next month. A founder and two former officers charge in the suit that war memorial contributions have been "embezzled." Federal investigators have probed the allegations, but have found no basis for formal charges.

• Former President Gerald Ford and other prominent public figures complained that their names were used improperly in solicitation mailings and demanded to be taken off all fund-raising literature. Also, one mass mailing incorrectly said that Congress had given final approval to the memorial.

• The group was plagued by an internal feud that led to the ouster of a founder. Angered by the loss of her position, the founder established a new corporation with the same name, causing confusion among potential contributors.

Korean Memorial Inc.'s current directors concede that the controversy has tarnished its image on Capitol Hill and perhaps damaged its chances to raise the $6 million to $12 million it will need to finance a memorial.

But the group's leaders also insist that the fund-raising drive shows signs of future success and contend that the charges of embezzlement will be laid to rest in court.

"I can't see that we ever really had any money to embezzle," said Edward Borcherdt, who recently became president of the group. "Every penny that has come in has been tracked."

Borcherdt is chairman of an international trade consulting firm with offices in Washington and Seoul and served as a captain and platoon leader in Korea.

"We're at a very fragile point right now. We're like a baby in its infancy," he said. "We can either get stepped on and squashed or we can survive."

The story begins with the incorporation of the National Committee for a Korean War Memorial in 1981. It was formed to finance the first permanent monument in Washington honoring the more than five million American men and women who served in Korea between 1950 and 1953.

Its founders felt the Korean War had been forgotten, despite a casualty list nearly as long as Vietnam's.

The private, tax-exempt corporation was headed by Chuyon Kim, a former curator of a U.S. military museum in Seoul. Kim paid incorporation and office expenses out of her own pocket and oversaw the daily operation of the fledgling organization.

"It was my idea, my experience, my money," said Kim, the daughter of a wealthy Korean land owner and now a U.S. citizen.

In an act she later came to regret, Kim enlisted as executive director Myron McKee, then 33, a former school superintendent from Minnesota and an unpaid staffer with the Reagan-Bush transition team. McKee's primary job was to convince Congress to set aside federal land for a memorial site.

Relations within the group soured by mid-1982 as Kim and McKee clashed over policy. McKee's decision to hire a conservative direct mail fund-raiser fueled the controversy and the board of directors reviewed the entire operation. Kim was ousted in a 3-2 vote in December 1982.

When Kim left, some thought the group's problems had ended. In fact, they had only just begun. A contentious fight for control of the corporate name was to follow.

In the fall of 1983, the committee's corporate charter expired because it failed to file two consecutive annual reports required by the District of Columbia.

Kim became aware of the expiration and chartered a second corporation that used the original name. McKee responded by reinstating the old corporation under a new name, Korean War Memorial Inc.

In the process, McKee inherited the old records and fund-raising rights.

The group used the names of prominent public figures such as Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II, former President Ford and Attorney General Edwin Meese to solicit funds. Ford and MacArthur denied being involved.

McKee dismissed all allegations of misappropriating memorial-fund contributions and added that the organization's debts resulted from the high cost of direct mail fund-raising.

"We think that when you see where the money went, everyone can see that no one was getting rich off this," he said. McKee left the group in mid-1984 to run for Congress in Minnesota, but his bid failed.

Korean Memorial Inc. financial records indicate that more than 3 million mailings have netted more than $600,000 from some 23,000 contributors. Its financial statements show that it is $42,154 in debt. Most of its money has been used to cover fund-raising costs. All officers are unpaid.

Since her ouster, Kim has worked tirelessly behind the scenes to bring down her adversaries. She has gone to the FBI, IRS and U.S. Postal Service with charges of fraud and embezzlement.

An IRS examination of the organization's 1983 and 1984 books turned up only minor omissions, according to an IRS report provided by the group. Spokesmen for the FBI and Postal Service said their investigations have been terminated and no charges have been filed.

The conflict has led some in Congress to look to the federal Treasury as a less controversial and more cost-effective funding source for a memorial. Three bills have been filed calling for a publicly funded Korean Memorial.

**Korean War Memorial Inc.**

Mailings: 3 million
Contributors: 23,000
Receipts: $600,000
Expenditures: $642,000
Debt: $42,000

Source: Korean Memorial Inc. financial reports and estimates provided by officers.

$$$ LOANS $$$
ROBERT BULLARD
661-2507

STATE
ANSWERING SERVICE

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EXHIBIT 8

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Senator Murkowski. Thank you very much, Mr. Kenney. We appreciate your efforts on behalf of the Korean War Memorial to coordinate what is certainly a most worthwhile effort. And I commend you and we value your testimony.

I would excuse the panel.

I have a statement by the chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Senator James McClure, which I will enter into the record today, indicating his support of the monument as a tribute to the relationship between Morocco and the United States.

[The prepared statement of Senator McClure follows:]

## Statement of Hon. James A. McClure, a U.S. Senator From the State of Idaho

It was with great honor that I introduced S. 1379, to authorize the placement of a monument on Federal land which will symbolize 200 years of peace and friendship between the United States and Morocco -- a monument which is to be a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco to the people of America.

In 1987, it will be fully 200 years since the Government of the United States, then a newly established republic, entered into a landmark treaty of peace and friendship with the Kingdom of Morocco. Morocco was the first nation to recognize the United States of America and to present our credentials to her North African neighbors. President George Washington wrote warmly of the "friendship and harmony which so happily subsist between" the two countries--friendship and harmony which thrive to this very day.

This monument will be in tribute to a relationship which has seen United States and Moroccan soldiers fight side by side through two World Wars in defense of shared democratic values, and pursue those values through cultural and economic ties in times of peace.

I urge my colleagues to work toward the prompt enactment of this legislation.

Senator MURKOWSKI. I wish you gentlemen a good day.

Moving right along here we go to——

[Pause.]

Senator MURKOWSKI. We've got one, two, three, four, five, six—and we're going to have the staff add one more chair, and I'm going to call Maurice Barboza, president, Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation; Mrs. Walter King, president general, Daughters of the American Revolution; Robert Weinberg, co-chairman, National Capital Region Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress; and Charles Bates, grand master, MWPH Grand Lodge. You be sure and tell us MWPH, all right?

We're going to hold you to 3 minutes, so I gather we've lost Maurice Barboza.

Mr. BARBOZA. No; Maurice Barboza is here. President General Sarah King of the Daughters of the American Revolution had to leave and she will be represented by Gen. W.D. Crittenberger who is the DAR's public relations director.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Is he here?

Mr. BARBOZA. He is here.

Senator MURKOWSKI. All right. We're all set. Everybody's covered. Please proceed.

## STATEMENT OF MAURICE A. BARBOZA, PRESIDENT, BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WAR PATRIOTS FOUNDATION

Mr. BARBOZA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Maurice Barboza. I'm President of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation and a member of the Sons of the American Revolution.

We are challenged to identify, study, preserve, and pass down information about heroes history has intentionally ignored. Knowledge of these men and women will inspire their qualities, ensure the Nation's continued freedom, and establish pride in our common heritage.

An entire generation of exemplary Americans were swept under the carpet and forgotten. While kept as slaves, reduced to third-class citizenship, they volunteered to fight for independence. Despite never winning equality for themselves, they lived their lives productively and with dignity, establishing organizations that would light the way to freedom.

An estimated 5,000 black slaves and free men fought in the American Revolution. Others provided civilian assistance. Their deeds have been chronicled by a handful of distinguished black historians, and recently by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Lured by patriotism and the promise of freedom, slaves were wounded and killed alongside whites in all of the major battles. Free blacks sought the fruits of democracy: the right to hold office, the right to vote, and to have a say in how their taxes were spent.

The Declaration of Independence echoed around the world, so it should not be surprising that the simple but radical notion "all men are created equal" penetrated the consciousness of slaves. Thousands ran away to freedom; others petitioned for it.

As disciples of the 56 signers, they too are patriots and would be honored by this memorial. This is not a military memorial. It's a memorial to freedom and to the struggle for freedom.

Long after the Revolution, blacks kept the flame of freedom and the spirit of the Declaration of Independence alive. For example, a group of Connecticut blacks petitioned the State legislature for their freedom, saying that they groaned under the burden of slavery, but that they contemplated with horror the miserable condition of our children who were being trained and kept in preparation for a life of bondage and servitude.

Mr. Chairman, this memorial would be built on public land at a place in Constitution Gardens. On the Fourth of July, more than a dozen organizations walked with us from DAR Constitution Hall to the proposed site of the memorial. We wanted to test whether the site would convey to tourists the values and qualities these black patriots possessed, their true role in the birth of the Nation, and the importance of what they did.

During a ceremony, more than 200 persons stood on a grassy knoll overlooking the lake at Constitution Gardens. A DAR Color Guard held the flags of the 13 colonies that are memorial to the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence. Directly behind them, Constitution Hall was in our line of sight. With the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial over our shoulders, the statement was as crystal clear as the sky that day. The Washington Monument was a reminder of General Washington's vigorous efforts to recruit black soldiers. Early in the war, because of protests from free blacks, he partially reversed an order excluding all blacks from service, including veterans of the Continental Army. As the war effort sagged, the order was completely reversed.

The Lincoln Memorial is a reminder of the Emancipation Proclamation and of Lincoln's commitment to equality. Viewed together with the Patriots Memorial, they would make the point that thousands of determined blacks had won freedom on their own initiative generations before Lincoln was born.

The Lincoln Memorial is also a reminder of the galvanization there in 1963 of the modern civil rights movement and of Lincoln's desire to heal the Nation. The site of the DAR Color Guard and Constitution Hall were reminders of how this project had brought together such a diverse group, just as diverse as the Nation.

The proximity of the proposed memorial site to Constitution Hall will forever link black patriots with the Revolution and their white compatriots. The Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation is an incorporated District of Columbia organization. We're tax exempt; we have a board of directors, a national advisory committee composed of distinguished Americans, including Dr. Benjamin Quarles, the distinguished historian, who did much to preserve this history.

Mr. Chairman, the history of blacks in America remains largely in esoteric subjects. Few Americans are fully aware of the historic contributions of blacks to the birth of America or recognize that the struggle for black freedom was in essence a continuation of the Revolution, and that this activity helped to shape the Constitution.

This memorial will help us get to know each other and getting to know each other takes time and requires a different strategy than does a challenge to an unconstitutional law or discrimination in housing, employment, or education.

During the past four decades, many old barriers have been torn down that prevented blacks from attaining equal rights. Yet, mental barriers erected to perpetuate prejudice and racial separateness years ago still divide us along racial lines. Most laws cannot touch these barriers. Demonstrations, court suits, and legislative battles have achieved dramatic changes in the way we treat each other as Americans, but they have not changed as much as we would like, certain misperceptions.

Mr. Chairman, this memorial is important to all Americans, especially to future generations of young people who want to feel a part of this country.

I appreciate this opportunity to testify and thank you for cosponsoring this legislation.

[The prepared statements [1] of Mr. Barboza follow:]

---

[1] Mr. Barboza requested that his statement submitted on November 14, 1985, to the National Memorial Advisory Committee be included in the record.

Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation

P.O. BOX 33652 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20033

STATEMENT OF MAURICE A. BARBOZA

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS,

RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

OCTOBER 29, 1985

S.J. RES. 143

"A MEMORIAL TO BLACK PATRIOTS"

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water and Resource Conservation:

Certain qualities helped to establish the nation and have kept it free. We produce movies, write books and build memorials to honor the self-reliant, brave, determined and selfless. Today, lack of knowledge more often than considerations based upon race, sex and religion may keep us from honoring deserving persons.

We are challenged to identify, study, preserve and pass down information about the heroes history has intentionally ignored. Knowledge of these men and women will inspire their qualities, insure the nation's continued freedom and establish pride in our common heritage.

An entire generation of exemplary Americans were swept under the carpet and forgotten. While kept as slaves or reduced to third class citizenship, they volunteered to fight for Independence. Despite never winning equality for themselves, they lived their lives productively and with dignity, establishing organizations that would light the way to freedom.

An estimated 5,000 black slaves and free men fought in the American Revolution; others provided civilian assistance. Their deeds have been chronicled by a handful of distinguished black historians and recently by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Lured by patriotism and the promise of freedom, slaves were wounded and killed along side whites in all of the major battles. Free blacks sought the fruits of democracy: the right to vote, hold elective office, and have a say in how their taxes were spent.

The Declaration of Independence echoed around the world, so it should not be surprising that the simple, but radical, notion "all men are created equal" penetrated the consciousness of slaves. Thousands ran away to freedom; others petitioned for it. As disciples of the 56 signers, they too are patriots.

The Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation is here to seek the approval of S. J. Res. 143. Introduced by Senator Albert Gore, Jr. and 20 cosponsors, the bill authorizes -- at no cost to the government -- a memorial to the black patriots and freedom-seekers of the American Revolution. A companion House bill, introduced by Reps. Nancy L. Johnson and Charles B. Rangel, will be considered by the House next week. Twenty-four witnesses appeared at a hearing in support of the bill.

On the Fourth of July, more than a dozen organizations walked with us from DAR Constitution Hall to the proposed site of the memorial. We wanted to test whether the site would convey to tourists the values and qualities these black patriots possessed, their true role in the birth of the nation and the importance of what they did.

During a ceremony, more than 200 persons stood on a grassy knoll overlooking the lake at Constitution Gardens. A DAR color guard held the flags of the Thirteen colonies at a memorial to the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence. Directly behind them, Constitution Hall was in our line of sight. With the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial over our shoulders, the statement was as crystal clear as sky that day.

The Washington Monument is a reminder of Gen. Washington's vigorous efforts to recruit black soldiers. Early in the war -- because of protests from free blacks -- he partially reversed a decision to exclude from service all blacks, including veterans of the Continental army. As the war effort sagged, the order was completely reversed.

The Lincoln Memorial is a reminder of the Emancipation Proclamation and Lincoln's commitment to equality. Viewed together with the Patriots Memorial, they will make the point that thousands of determined blacks had won freedom on their own initiative generations before Lincoln's birth. The Lincoln Memorial is also a reminder of the galvanization there in 1963 of the modern civil rights movement and of Lincoln's desire to heal the nation.

The sight of the DAR color guard and Constitution Hall were reminders of how this project had brought together such a diverse group -- just as diverse as the nation. The proximity of the proposed memorial site to Constitution Hall will forever link black patriots with the Revolution and their white compatriots.

Mr. Chairman, though barely nine months old, the effort to build the memorial has already received national attention. It was given a head start last year when the President signed Public Law 98-245, a bill sponsored by Rep. Johnson to honor black patriots. We believe that Americans will contribute generously to the establishment of the memorial and want to learn more about this history.

We want to thank the Subcommittee and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources for scheduling this hearing. We also want to thank Senator Gore for his leadership and Sens. Murkowski, Nickles, Metzenbaum, Melcher and Rockefeller for cosponsoring S. J. Res. 143.

###

Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation

November 18, 1985

Mr. Pietro A. Bevinetto
Subcommittee on Public Lands,
Reservered Water and Resource Conservation
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
358 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Tony:

I would like to submit for the record of the October 23 hearing on S.J. Res. 142, a memorial to black patriots of the American Revolution, my statement and attachments which were submitted on November 14, 1985, to the National Memorial Advisory Committee.

I appreciate the fine work that you and Ann Fenia have done on this legislation.

Sincerely,

Maurice A. Barboza
President

Enclosure

TONY:
I WOULD DIRECT YOUR ATTENTION
ESPECIALLY TO THE DISCUSSION
BEGINNING ON PAGE 10 AND
CONTINUING THROUGH 14.

THANKS,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# STATEMENT

OF

MAURICE A. BARBOZA
PRESIDENT
BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WAR PATRIOTS FOUNDATION

BEFORE

THE

NATIONAL CAPITAL MEMORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

ON

S. J. Res. 143 and H. J. Res. 142
A MEMORIAL TO BLACK PATRIOTS

NOVEMBER 14, 1985
WASHINGTON, D.C.*

The Patriots Foundation is a nonprofit, tax exempt organization which was incorporated in the District of Columbia on February 29, 1985. The Foundation's goal is to promote improved relations among Americans through a greater awareness of the multiracial character of the nation's Revolutionary era history. It is represented by Charles T. Duncan and Patricia M. Healy of the Washington law firm of Reid and Priest. The board of directors includes President Maurice A. Barboza, Vice President Lena Santos Ferguson, Margaret Johnston, Richard M. Clark, [illegible] Ellis, Maybelle Taylor Bennett, George Dalley, Robert Hobson, Donald Perkins and Jennifer Gurahian. Members of its National Advisory Council are Sarah M. King, president general, Daughters of the American Revolution; District of Columbia City Council Chairman David A. Clarke; Dr. Bennetta Washington; Historian Benjamin Quarles; James D. Johnston, V.P., General Motors; Dwight Ellis, V.P., National Association of Broadcasters; Public Relations Consultant Ofield Dukes; Carl F. Bessent, past president, Sons of the American Revolution; Jan Scruggs, Founder, Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund; Landscape Architect Arthur H. Clark and Col. (Ret.) Talmadge Lee Moore.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

My name is Maurice A. Barboza. I am the founder and president of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation -- an incorporated nonprofit, tax exempt organization located in the District of Columbia. I am accompanied by the Foundation's counsel, Attorney Patricia M. Healy of the law firm of Reid and Priest. At the conclusion of my remarks, she will explain the current legal status of the Foundation.

The Foundation was established to seek congressional authorization to build a memorial in Washington, D. C. to honor black patriots of the American Revolution (Patriots Memorial) and to increase public awareness of the contributions of blacks to Revolutionary era America.

The Foundation has a ten-member board of directors and a National Advisory Council composed of distinguished Americans from various backgrounds. The names of these individuals precedes the testimony in your hearing books.

Legislation to authorize the establishment of the Patriots Memorial was introduced on February 7, 1985, in the House of Representatives by Representatives Nancy L. Johnson (R-CT) and Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) and currently has 116 cosponsors. Twenty-four witnesses testified in strong support of the bill, H.J. Res. 142, at a hearing conducted on June 13 before the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials of the Committee on House Administration (Task Force). Modified somewhat by the Committee, the legislation passed the House unanimously (408-0) on November 14, 1985.

A companion Senate bill, S. J. Res. 143, was introduced on May 24 by Senator Albert Gore, Jr. (D-Tenn) and has 20 cosponsors. The Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water and Resource Conservation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources conducted a hearing on October 23 on the legislation.

Besides the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation, the memorial proposal has the support of a diverse array of national and local organizations, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, Prince Hall Masons, National Education Association, American Bar Association, American Jewish

Congress, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York and the National Urban League. Most of these organizations testified on the legislation and participated in a Fourth of July march sponsored by the Foundation, from DAR Constitution Hall to the proposed site of the memorial.

The two authorizing bills currently pending in the Congress were identical upon introduction. They complied in every respect to regulations of the Department of the Interior concerning the content of legislation authorizing the establishment of memorials with the exception that they designate a specific area of Washington, D.C. -- Constitution Gardens -- for the construction of the memorial. However, H.J. Res. 142 was reported by the Committee on House Administration, and passed, with the following changes that would --

1. clearly define the class of persons to be honored by the memorial;

2. delete the designation of the memorial site at Constitution Gardens and authorize the Foundation to select a site subject to the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission;

3. delete references to the Secretary of the Interior (Secretary) with respect to site designation and the approval of the design and plans for the memorial; and

4. remove a provision giving the Secretary the responsibility for maintenance of the memorial after construction.

Mr. Chairman, the Foundation prefers the current language of the Senate bill, S.J. Res. 143, with an amendment (similar to that currently contained in the House bill) to more clearly define the class of persons to be honored. We do not support the deletion of references to the authority of the Secretary over various matters or the removal of language authorizing the site of the memorial at Constitution Gardens.

At this time, I would like to turn to two main issues in the legislation -- the appropriateness of memorializing black Revolutionary War patriots and the importance of designating the memorial site in the legislation.

## I.

## *Whether the black patriots of the American Revolution deserve to be honored by a memorial in the Nation's Capital*

The purpose of the Patriots Memorial is to honor black patriots for their inspirational pursuit of liberty and freedom during the American Revolution. While it would honor their courage as warriors as well, the memorial is *not* a war memorial.

Those black patriots who would be honored are an estimated 5,000 slaves and free persons who between 1775 and 1783 served as soldiers and sailors in the continental army and various state and local militias. They are black men and women who provided civilian assistance and those who petitioned for their liberty. They are the thousands of slaves who took seriously the words of the Declaration of Independence and ran away to freedom.

There is ample documentation of the role of blacks in the American Revolution. A handful of black historians since the mid-1800's have researched and written on this subject. In 1855, William C. Nell published *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*, which was followed in 1883 by George Washington Williams' *History of the Negro Race in America* and in 1942 by Luther P. Jackson's *Negro Soldiers and Seamen in the American Revolution*. Considered the definitive work on blacks in the Revolution is Dr. Benjamin Quarles' book, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, published in 1961.

Historians Lerone Bennett -- *Before the Mayflower* -- and John Hope Franklin -- *From Slavery to Freedom* -- included chapters on the Revolution in these general works focusing on blacks in American history. An excellent monograph, *Connecticut's Black Soldiers*, was writen by David O. White in 1973. Last year, the Daughters of the American Revolution published *Black Courage 1776-1783*. The Library of Congress published a partial list of black soldiers in 1974 based upon information culled from War Department Revolutionary War records. In 1983, the Capitol Historical Society dedicated a volume entitled *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* to Nell, Williams, Jackson and Quarles. It explores black life during and immediately after the Revolution. Finally the DAR is currently researching and preparing for publication a comprehensive list of black soldiers of the Revolution. The first volume is expected to be published in April 1986.

The first question that most people ask when they learn that blacks served in the American Revolution is why would a slave fight for someone that had enslaved him. The answer to that question -- to a large extent -- lies in the Declaration of Independence and the history that preceded it. The idea that "all men are created equal" and that slavery was an evil institution were not new ideas to Americans, whether they were black or white. When presented with an opportunity to secure their freedom, blacks recognized it. The Revolution was such an opportunity.

The black struggle for freedom -- although haphazard-- preceded the American Revolution by generations. Fear of slave insurrections led Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1656 and 1660 to bar black militia service. In 1712, blacks in New York staged an organized uprising, involving 27 slaves. Before they were captured, nine whites were killed; others were wounded. Six blacks committed suicide to avoid capture.

In 1721, blacks were chastised by Cotton Mather for having a "fondness for freedom," which he felt interfered with their religious responsibilities. In 1720 slaves were burned alive for their involvement in a revolt in Charleston. In 1739, there were three uprisings in the colony; one near Charleston resulted in the deaths of some 30 whites and 44 blacks. A year later 200 blacks were implicated in a plot in the same city. In 1741, two blacks set fire to seven barns in Hackensack, New Jersey and were burned at the stake.

Protests against slavery began as early as 1688 among Pennsylvania Mennonites, who adopted a resolution saying that slavery was inconsistent with religious principles. James Otis of Massachusetts in 1765, Samuel Cook in 1770 and Benjamin Rush in 1773 advocated the end of slavery. Connecticut Minister Levi Hart in the 1770s condemned slavery and characterized America as the "land of liberty." Patrick Henry declared that "a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil." Thomas Jefferson was unsuccessful in getting Congress to approve a clause in the Declaration of Independence condemning the slave trade and laying blame for it on the King.

Benjamin Quarles in the "American Revolution as a Black Declaration of Independence" said that "all blacks during the Revolutionary era shared a common goal -- the pursuit of freedom and equality." Quarles contends that blacks long before the Revolution had become Americanized by their daily contacts with whites and that they "sometimes adopted the beliefs and behavior patterns of their owners."

Professor Ira Berlin, a Task Force witness, believes that the acculturation of blacks took place in "a matter of years." Christianity played a major role in this process. By the mid-1700s, schools were being established for the education of blacks. Anthony Benezet established a night school for blacks in Philadelphia that was still operating when the Revolution came. Jupiter Hammon and Phylis Wheatley wrote poetry with freedom themes. One of the ironies of history is that the first to die in a major confrontation with the British, which led to the Revolution, was a runaway slave -- Crispus Attucks.

Blacks demonstrated that they had the spirit and intelligence to pursue freedom when the opportunity presented itself. On this subject, Alexander Hamilton, then a member of Washington's military family, writing to John Jay, president of the Congress, to urge the recruitment of blacks in 1779 said:

> I mention this because I hear it frequently objected to the scheme of embodying negroes, that they are too stupid to make soldiers. This is so far from appearing to me a valid objection, that I think their want of cultivation (for their natural faculties are probably as good as ours), joined to that habit of subordination which they acquire from a life of servitude, will make them sooner become soldiers than our white inhabitants.

The dawn of the American Revolution presented an opportunity for blacks, which they comprehended and relished. It was in many respects, too, a golden opportunity for America to live up to her true meaning by abolishing slavery and taking steps to assure the equal rights of all persons.

When the Continental army was being organized, blacks were barred from service for fear that they might understandably be inclined to aim their weapons at their former masters. But free blacks of Boston, who had already been in the army, protested; the order was partially reversed. However, recruiters, hard-pressed to fill quotas, continued to ignor the order and accepted runaway slaves, free blacks and others. Washington did not turn his back on them.

The states began to reverse policies excluding blacks from the militias in the face of British attempts to entice slaves to their side with promises of freedom. Americans were stunned by a 1775 Declaration issued by Lord Dunmore promising freedom to slaves who joined his side. Those irksome efforts to drive a wedge between master and slave and take away a potential source of American manpower were taken seriously.

By 1778, blacks were being welcomed into service and efforts were initiated, particularly in the South (but without much success), to raise all-black regiments. James Madison's November 20, 1780, letter to Joseph Jones said "would it not be as well to liberate and make soldiers at once of the blacks themselves." He continued: "It would certainly be more consonant with the principles of liberty, which ought never to be lost sight of in a contest for liberty."

The Southern states, which were threatened most by British forces after 1778, with the occupation of Savannah, had been stingy in filling their quotas, and recognizing this, an effort was undertaken by a key Washington aide, John Laurens, to raise an army of 3,000 blacks. It did not succeed. Washington was dismayed, and in a letter to Col. Laurens three years later said:

> I must confess that I am not at all astonished at the failure of your plan. That spirit of freedom, which, at the commencement of this contest, would have gladly sacrificed every thing to the attainment of this object, has long since subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place. It is not the public but private interest which influences the generality of mankind; nor can the Americans any longer boast an exception. Under these circumstances, it would rather have been surprising if you had succeeded; nor will you, I fear have better success in Georgia.

It was difficult to secure recruits from the South, and the enlistment figures explain Washington's obvious dispair. By around 1779, Massachusetts had furnished the bulk of men, 67,907, while the colonies South of Pennsylvania furnished only 50,493 -- 8,414 less than a single colony, Historian George Washington Williams points out.

The Revolution was no different than any other war in this respect: There was not a universal interest on the part of citizens to fight. But there was a great deal of interest on the part of black slaves and free men who saw the Revolution as an opportunity to win freedom and the rights of citizenship.

Blacks ran away to join the army, using assumed names to get past recruiters. They bargained with their masters for commitments of freedom in exchange for military service, accepting the possibility of wounds, capture, starvation, disease and death as gambles well worth the freedom they coveted. Some had the unfortunate experience of having masters who reneged on their promises of freedom, like James Robinson and Jack Arabas. Understanding his predicament, Arabas ran away and eventually was set free by a Connecticut court, after he served three years.

The majority of black soldiers came from the Northern states. However, no state failed to be represented in their ranks. Most blacks served in integrated fighting units, although Rhode Island, Connecticut and other states boasted a few notable all-black units. Besides the army, many blacks served in the Navy, the colonies having a population of around 2,000 black seaman at the time of the Revolution.

Although admitting that records are scant, David O. White contends that blacks in integrated units served in capacities similar to whites and that menial tasks appeared to be evenly distributed. Blacks, however, were usually privates under the command of white officers, although there were black sergeants in Col. Greene's Rhode Island Regiment.

All-black fighting units and individual black soldiers presented themselves well under arms and distinguished themselves in battles throughout the war. A French officer, The Marquis de Chastellux, described the Rhode Island Regiment as "strong, robust, and those I saw made a very good appearance."

At White Plains, New York, another French officer said, upon seeing New England's troups, "a quarter of them were negroes, merry, confident, and sturdy." White says that three days later, he reviewed these same troups, remarking: "Three-quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes, and that regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in its maneuver." In 1778, Col. Greene's First Rhode Island Regiment, composed of 125 blacks, of whom 30 were free, skillfully held their ground during a fierce four hour battle. Gen. John Sullivan, the Commander, praised these men saying that they deserved a share of the day's honors. In 1781, Col. Greene's men fought to the death defending him unsuccessfully near Points Bridge, New York. Later a white veteran described them as "brave, hardy troops. They helped to gain our liberty and independence."

Many black soldiers distinguished themselves in battle. Salem Poor was officially commended by the Massachusetts General Court for bravery at Bunker Hill. The Court said "we would only beg leave to say, in the person of this said negro centres a brave and gallant soldier." Austin Dabney of Georgia was awarded 112 acres in recognition for "bravery and fortitude" in several engagements." Edward Hector was given $50 by the Pennsylvania legislature 50 years after the war for protecting an ammunition wagon while other Americans retreated. Salem Poor was officially commended for his services at Bunker Hill.

Jordan Freeman was killed after he lanced Major William Montgomery at the Battle of Groton Heights. Later, another black, Lambert Latham, and his compatriots were summarily executed by British soldiers. Freeman is honored by a plaque at Fort Griswold. James Armistead was commended by Major General Lafayette for his industriousness as a spy.

There were other blacks who were killed, injured and handicapped during the Revolution. Zechery Prince received his freedom postumously. Gad Asher was blinded. Thomas Lively lost his right eye at Monmouth. Richard Primes was wounded in the head at Camden. Cuff Slade's feet were frozen. Robert Green was wounded in the face.

Blacks were captured as prisoners and did what they were supposed to do -- escape. George Dias was taken prisoner at Elizabethtown and escaped the same night. Isaac Perkins successfully escaped from Charleston. Ephraim Hearn was a prisoner for 9 months, Thomas Lively for 14 months and Thomas Buckner for 18 months.

Black soldiers brought skills to their military service; there were wagoneers, musicians, shoemakers, basket makers, farmers, bakers and planters. Because of their status, they generally served longer terms than whites. Francis Freeman, Cato Howe, Titus Kent, Pomp Liberty and others served the entire duration of the war. When the war ended, blacks had served in every major engagement from Lexington and Concord to Yorktown. Two blacks, Prince Whipple and Oliver Cromwell, were in the boat with Washington when he crossed the Delaware.

Some black soldiers had been carried from Africa to be slaves, men like Gad Asher, Richard Cozens and Caesar Clark.

Besides honoring soldiers, the Patriots memorial would honor black men and women who provided civilian assistance during the war such as a Danbury, Connecticut slave named Ned, who helped embattled whites in a house under attack by the British. They were eventually overcome; after being shot, Ned attempted to get up to shoot his assailant. His head was cut off. Ned's owner, Samuel Smith, said that Ned was "a very zealous friend to the American cause." Smith successfully petitioned the legislature in 1778 for reimbursement for Ned's loss. Black men and women also performed mundane support work that freed others to do the fighting.

Blacks seemingly used whatever means were available to secure their freedom by joining the militia, buying their own freedom and running away. Jefferson estimated that during 1778 alone, more than 30,000 Virginia slaves ran away. A South Carolina historian, Ramsey, estimates that his state lost at least 25,000 during the war. The total slave population in the South was estimated to be near 455,000.

Slaves also exercised the right to petition courts and legislatures. They submitted touching petitions. Quarles describes the efforts of a group of Connecticut slaves, who petitioned the legislature in 1779 for their freedom. They claimed that they "groaned" under their own burdens, but that they contemplated with horror "the miserable Condition of Our Children, who are training up, and kept in Prepartion, for a like State of Bondage and Servitude."

Black Revolutionary war patriots left a legacy in their struggle for freedom; they formed churches and self-help organizations that would light the way for later generations. They formed family units whose immediate offspring served America in many ways and in other wars, including the civil war. Prince Hall founded the black Masons, an organization of over 300,000 members, which still bears his name. James Mars, the son of Revolutionary war patriot Jupiter Mars, wrote an autobiography about his life in slavery, because at the time of the civil war few knew "that slavery ever lived in Connecticut." His son served in the civil war. Lemuel Hayes, a minuteman who fought at Lexington and Concord, became a leading minister.

While many generations would have to wait to rejoice in the freedom that only a handful of blacks would achieve during the Revolution, a deep channel had been cut into America's conciousness through which a mighty river would rage and eventually engulf slavery and its evils. The free black population in Boston, New York and Philadelphia rose from 4,000 to over 22,000 by the turn of the 19th century. Slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Vermont by 1765.

Although the adoption of the Constitution was a disappointment to blacks (since it recognized the legality of slavery and the inhumanity of slaves), the Declaration of Independence remained a beacon of hope to blacks. William L. Robinson of the American Bar Association told the Task Force that "the struggle for freedom kept the meaning of the Declaration of Independence alive long after it had become merely an intellectual and patriotic symbol to most Americans. History echoes those words. A. Leon Higginbotham's book, _In the Matter of Color_, cites John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln and this quote from the major author of the 14th and 15th Amendments, Charles Sumner, on this point. Sumner, in an address to the Antislavery Society in 1870:

> I do not think the work is finished, so long as the word "white" is allowed to play any part in legislation,--so long as it constrains the courts in naturalization,--so long as it rules public conveyances, steamboats, and railroads,--so long as it bars the doors of houses bound by law to receive people for food and lodging, or licensed as places of amusement,--so long as it is inscribed on our common schools;--nor do I think the work finished until the power of the Nation is recognized, supreme and beyond question, to fix the definition of a

> "republican government," and to enforce the same by the perfect maintenance of rights everywhere throughout the land, according to the promises of the Declaration of Independence, without any check or hindrance from the old proslavery pretension of States Rights.

On August 28, 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., while standing before the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington, repeated the generations-old echo concerning the Declaration of Independence:

> I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed--we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

* * * *

There are many factors that this Committee will examine in reaching a conclusion on whether to honor these persons by the establishment of the Patriots Memorial. We have been told that besides whether or not a person or class of persons deserves to be memorialized, there are questions of land availability and redundancy. Moreover, a memorial should have both retrospective and prospective significance

There are approximately 109 outdoor memorials in Washington and a handful that have been authorized but not yet built. We have been reminded that it is not enough to say that a memorial ought to be built simply because the persons it honors are deserving. There are potentially thousands of deserving persons and groups of persons who ought to be memorialized, but where would all those memorials go, some have asked?

With respect to redundancy, there are no outdoor memorials to black Revolutionary War patriots in the District of Columbia or its environs. Yet there are many that honor white or foreign individuals who served in the Revolution. Moreover, there is only one memorial to a black person -- a memorial to educator Mary McCleod Bethune at Lincoln Park. I think the committee would agree that there are many black heroes deserving of memorials and that it is rather unfortunate that they may never be recognized because since the civil war while others were building memorials, black organizations were struggling for equal rights.

Americans know very little about the history of blacks of the Revolutionary era or that blacks served honorably in the war. History teacher Edna Pearson told the Task Force "I am saddened when I think of all of those bright and eager young people to whom I taught the 'traditional' version of U.S. history. It was the only kind of history I knew at the time."

Since the 1960's, when educators were pressured to give classroom attention to the history of blacks, this history -- if taught at all -- has been covered as if it were something apart from the mainstream of American history.

A former teacher, Representative Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH), chairperson of the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials, during the House hearing said she looked "forward to the day that black history is taught in the classroom as a part of the regular or mainstream American history curriculum."

The National Education Association said "[T]he history of America is rich in ethnic and cultural diversity. This richness has not always been promoted by the public schools, the media, and other American institutions. Textbooks ... often present false images to our children of particular ethnic groups."

The Patriots Memorial would serve an educational purpose in that it would remind Americans of the rich and meaningful contributions of blacks to the birth of America. It would illuminate the past so that the present generation would better understand the nation's history. In that sense it would serve a retrospective purpose. The Patriots Memorial would serve a prospective purpose by helping future generations of Americans understand what it is that binds us together as a people. Rep. Nancy L. Johnson, the memorial's chief Congressional proponent said:

> An American cannot be identified by simple physical, ethnic, racial, or religious characteristics. Even our cultural heritage is best defined by its rich diversity. What ties us together as a nation is our commitment to individual freedom and to maintaining the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution to assure the perpetuation of that freedom.

Rep. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., who is the son of Italian immigrant parents, had this to say about what the memorial would mean.

> I am the descendant of immigrants who came to America to experience freedom and the opportunity offered in our country. We were not always looked upon as I was growing up

> as "real" Americans because we were transplanted. I struggled to prove that we were "real" Americans, and so did my parents. Blacks have had to do the same thing, but under circumstances so overwhelming and so calculated to make them feel like outsiders that it is a wonder that we are where we are today. This memorial will reinforce my feelings as an American and those of many other descendants of immigrants. It will tell all of us the true meaning of the word American: struggle, hard work, perseverance and love of freedom.

## II.

## Why should the Patriots Memorial be established at Constitution Gardens

Now I would like to turn to the question of where the Patriots Memorial ought to be placed. The Department of the Interior testified before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee that site selection was part and parcel of design planning and that the former should not come before the latter. I disagree.

A memorial ought to rise naturally out of its surroundings, like a tree growing in a forest, a mountain range protruding from the earth or a lake descending and expanding. It is the subject matter -- the essence of the thing -- not the design that provides the clues as to where such an object belongs. The design must respect the environment and be shaped by it and not the other way around.

The memorial should carry no more physical significance than what surrounds it, whether those things are man-made or living. Because the memorial would strive to achieve equality and understanding among people, it must have an environment capable of conveying that statement to visitors. The Patriots Memorial must be closest to those things with which it shares a common history and to those things with which it is commonly perceived to have no relationship at all. Only then can the memorial explode myths and misperceptions, exposing the essential elements it shares in common with the symbols most important to Americans.

The proposed site of the Patriots Memorial, which is specified in S.J. Res. 143, is on Federal land between two symbols of freedom, the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. This site makes a powerful statement that present and future generations ought to hear.

It would share the lake at Constitution Gardens with a memorial to the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence, a document that gave hope to these patriots' drive for freedom. And they, more than any others, kept alive the flame that ignited this beacon of American history.

When tourists, standing on the island where the Signers Memorial sits, look across at the Black Patriots Memorial, they will see in its' representation the true meaning of the Declaration of Independence.

Moreover, this land was hallowed by the many important events, which have occurred there during the struggle for freedom, like the 1939 concert of renowned black contralto Marian Anderson and the 1963 March on Washington.

The sound of water gently splashing the shore of the lake at Constitution Gardens will remind visitors of the harrowing ocean passage of some of these men and women and their ancestors from their native Africa.

The contemplative atmosphere of Constitution Gardens and the walk around the lake to the proposed memorial site from Constitution Avenue will give visitors an opportunity to think about the long black struggle to attain the freedom these patriots first sought.

Memorials to other Revolutionary war heroes at Lafayette Park and elsewhere in the city, including Constitution Hall, will take on a new meaning to all Americans, especially to blacks. Pulaski, Greene, Hale, Jefferson, Kosciuszko, Layfayette, Muhlenburg, Rochambeau, Von Steuben, Ward, Washington and the thousands of white patriots on the registers of the DAR surely would have welcomed this memorial to their black compatriots and wondered why it took so long. That is what their descendants of the DAR and SAR have said in testimony.

On the Fourth of July, more than a dozen organizations walked with us from DAR Constitution Hall to the proposed site of the memorial. We wanted to test whether the site would convey to tourists the values and qualities that these black patriots possessed, their true role in the birth of the nation and the importance of what they did.

During a ceremony, more than 200 persons stood on a grassy knoll overlooking the lake at Constitution Gardens. A DAR color guard held the flags of the Thirteen colonies at the Signers Memorial. Directly behind them, Constitution Hall was in our line sight. With the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial over our shoulders, the statement was as crystal clear as the sky that day.

The Washington Monument is a reminder of General Washington's vigorous efforts to recruit black soldiers. Early in the war -- because of protests from free blacks -- he partially reversed a decision to exclude from service all blacks, including veterans of the Continental army. As the war effort sagged, the order was completely reversed.

The Lincoln Memorial is a reminder of the Emancipation Proclamation and of Lincoln's commitment to equality. Viewed together with the Patriots Memorial, they will make the point that thousands of determined blacks had won freedom on their own initiative generations before Lincoln's birth. The Lincoln Memorial is also a reminder of the galvanization there in 1963 of the modern civil rights movement and of Lincoln's desire to heal the nation.

The sight of the DAR color guard and Constitution Hall were reminders of how this project had brought together such a diverse group -- just as diverse as the nation. The proximity of the proposed memorial site to Constitution Hall will forever link black patriots with the Revolution and their white compatriots.

Before concluding, I want to mention a man that Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD) profiled in remarks he made in the November 6, 1985, Congressional Record about a black Marylander, James Robinson, who served in the Revolution. Mr. Robinson so typifies the selflessness of those who fought the bittersweet struggle for freedom.

> Mr. Robinson was born a slave in Maryland in 1753. When war broke out, Mr. Robinson asked to serve in the Army, where he also fought in the battle at Yorktown, as well as at Brandywine. For his service in the battle, which secured the surrender of General Cornwallis at Yorktown, he was decorated for military valor by General Lafayette. After the war, Mr. Robinson was returned to slavery and sent to Louisiana.
>
> With the start of the War of 1812, Mr. Robinson again offered his services to his country. Despite his contributions in two American wars, Mr. Robinson did not become a free man until after the Civil War. Once freed, he moved to Detroit where he resided until his death at the age of 115.

Like Mr. Robinson's eventual freedom, this memorial to black patriots is long overdue.

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The Washington Times

Photo by David Rogowski/The Washington Times

Maurice Barboza, president of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation, is flanked by DAR President General Sara King (left) and DAR member Lena Ferguson yesterday as 150 people marched to the proposed site on the Mall for a memorial honoring black patriots of the American Revolution.

# Parade hails black patriots

By Kathleen Devereaux
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In honor of the men and women they call America's forgotten patriots, about 150 people yesterday marched to a site on the Mall that they hope soon will bear a memorial to blacks who fought in the American Revolution.

"For two centuries, black soldiers and military men have been America's invisible patriots," Sarah King, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, told the gathering led by the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation.

"It is time to highlight the contributions that blacks have made toward the liberties we celebrate each Fourth of July. It is time to bring black Revolutionary War patriots to the forefront of our historical consciousness," Mrs. King said.

The group first gathered on the steps of Constitution Hall and walked to a grassy knoll in nearby Constitution Gardens where the foundation proposes to erect a memorial. The site is near the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and not far from the Washington Monument.

Foundation President Maurice Barboza led the parade and also spoke.

"We cleared a significant hurdle last week when the Commission on Fine Arts approved the site. Next we have to get legislation through Congress, but we're very confident. Support has been stronger than ever," Mr. Barboza said.

"These black patriots are largely forgotten, even though they took part in major battles such as Lexington and Concord," he said.

Lena Santos Ferguson, the black woman who just last year fought and won full membership in a local chapter of the DAR, distributed small American flags to marchers. Each flag had tied to its mast the typewritten name of a black Revolutionary War patriot.

"Lena typed out each one of those names herself last week, and tied them on each flag by hand," said Mr. Barboza, Mrs. Ferguson's nephew.

A small parade formed behind the white-clad DAR color guard that carried the flags across the Mall. Directly behind the color guard marched representatives of the Prince Hall Masons, a black Masonic group named for a Revolutionary War soldier.

A combination of dignity and holiday cheer prevailed as the marchers neared the proposed memorial site next to the Reflecting Pool and about midway between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial.

"We hope the memorial site will be approved by Congress. Then all we will have to worry about is the fund raising," said Mrs. Ferguson.

Mrs. Ferguson said she has been working hard for the DAR since her acceptance by a local chapter.

"I've met many wonderful people and I'm currently working on two local DAR projects — the education committee and the committee on safety and transportation," she said. "The women at DAR have been so warm and supportive. Some of them have come up to me and said that I was the best thing that has happened to DAR in a long time."

Recently she awarded two scholarships to students in D.C. public high schools on behalf of the DAR, and has been working with students on campaigns that stress the use of seat belts as life-saving devices.

Since last year's controversy, DAR has become involved in further research on black Revolutionary War patriots, hiring a special genealogist to research the subject and publishing his findings in a book entitled "Black Courage." The DAR also has been strongly supportive of the proposed memorial, which will cost about $2.5 million to be raised through private donations.

The memorial site also received tentative approval from the House Task Force on Libraries and Memorials last month. The National Capital Planning Commission and the Department of the Interior also must grant approval.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

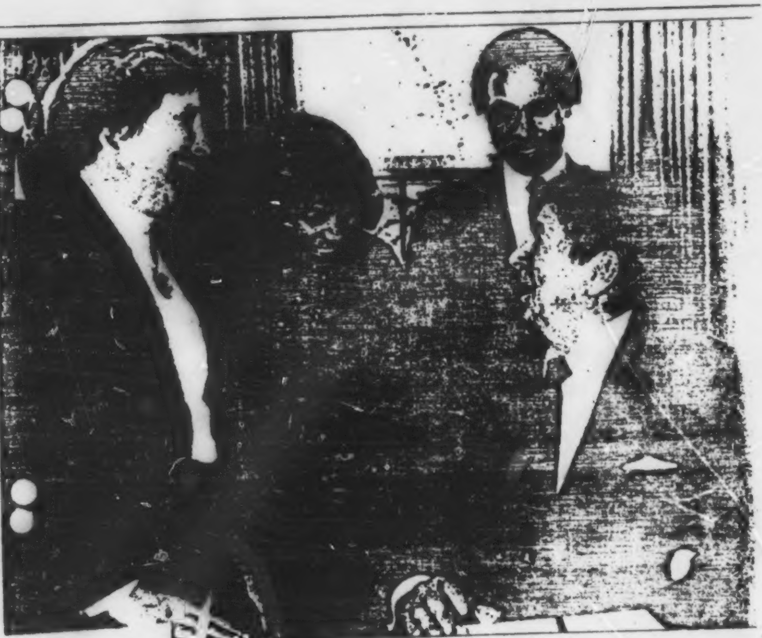
# Red, White and Blue . . .

# . . . and Black

WHAT BETTER TIME than this morning for a heretofore unlikely coalition to gather on the steps of Constitution Hall to make some history and remember some as well. Side by side, with flags in hand and longtime differences cast aside, members of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Vietnam Veterans of America, the Prince Hall Masons and other organizations will sing the praises of some 5,000 unsung heroes of the Revolutionary War. Then the participants plan a march to a knoll in Constitution Gardens where they hope to build a memorial to those blacks who fought in all of the major battles of the Revolution. Already, they have the ear of Congress—and their project is a worthy one.

Hearings were held in the House last month, and more than 110 members of Congress have become cosponsors of resolutions in the House and Senate to authorize the memorial. The site sought for the memorial—which would be built with private donations—overlooks a lake midway between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. Approvals will be needed also from the Fine Arts Commission, the National Capital Planning Commission and the Interior Department. So far, at least, the general proposal has been received, and received well, as a significant reminder of black contributions to the birth of America.

"We are not here to make these patriots more than what they were in life, or to pump up the egos of those of us who may claim blood kinship," said Maurice Barboza, a leader of the project, at the House hearing. "We are here to remove what the tarnish of slavery and second-class citizenship has done to obscure them. . . . When tourists stand on the island where the Signers Memorial sits and look across the lake at the memorial to black patriots, they will see the true meaning of the Declaration of Independence."



fter a private signing ceremony at the White House Tuesday, resident Reagan speaks to backers of a congressional resolution ooring blacks for participation in the American Revolution. anding, from left: Rep. Nancy L. Johnson, 6th District; Lena Santos F rguson, who says she is only the second black woma admitted to the Daughters of the American Revolution; and Fe guson's nephew, Maurice Barboza, who suggested the resolutio Johnson said 5,000 black soldiers fought for independence.

# Resolution Honors Blacks in Revolutio

Courant Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President eagan Tuesday signed a reso- ition, sponsored by two Con- ecticut members of Congress, honor blacks who participat- [illegible] e American Revolution [illegible] preliminary unrest, be- [illegible] ; with the Boston Massa- re ... 1770.

Those present for the private hite House signing ceremony cluded Rep. Nancy L. John- n, R-6th District, the House thor of the measure; Maurice arboza, formerly of Plainville, who first proposed the resolution; and Barboza's aunt, Lena Santos Ferguson.

The resolution unanimously passed the House Feb. 29, the last day of Black History Month in 1984. It won approval of the Senate, where it was sponsored by Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, R-Conn., March 12.

During her House presentation of the resolution, Johnson noted that Crispus Attucks, a black man, was one of the five victims of the Boston Massacre. Later, more than 5,000 black soldiers fought for American independence as part of the Continental Army or in state militia, Johnson said, "yet this aspect of our history has never been fully acknowledged."

As part of her presentation, Johnson submitted for the Congressional Record the names and biographical sketches of four black patriots from the current 6th District who fought in the Revolution. They were Tobias Pero, Thomas Sacket, Prince Duplex and Jeff Liberty.

Barboza first approached Johnson with a proposed reso tion to gain attention for h aunt's three-year battle to admitted to the Daughters of th American Revolution. Fergu said she was only the seco black to gain entrance to th DAR when she was finally a mitted in 1983. One of her ance tors, who was from Maine, wa killed in a battle in Virginia, s said.

Johnson said the resoluti was broadened to recognize t contribution of all blacks to th cause of American indepe dence.

Public Law 98-245
98th Congress

## Joint Resolution

Mar. 27, 1984
[H.J. Res. 454]

Honoring the contribution of blacks to American independence.

Whereas, from 1776 to 1783, more than five thousand black men participated in the American Revolution as members of the Continental Army, and State and local militias; and

Whereas blacks participated in every major battle of the Revolution, including Monmouth and Yorktown and were encamped with Washington at Valley Forge; and

Whereas many blacks distinguished themselves in battle with acts of heroism that were well-noted at the time, some were praised by their officers and a few honored or rewarded by State legislatures; and

Whereas a large proportion of black recruits were inhabitants of the original thirteen colonies; and

Whereas black soldiers participated in integrated fighting units and performed a wide array of duties requiring bravery and skill; and

Whereas many blacks who participated in the Revolution are unknown soldiers, who used assumed names or were identified on muster rolls only by race and therefore their descendants will never know of the specific contributions they made to the cause of independence; and

Whereas, despite efforts by the Continental Congress and various States to exclude them up until 1778, blacks continued to enlist as substitutes until laws barring their participation in the war were removed, and free blacks of Massachusetts personally protested to General Washington about their initial exclusion from service; and

Whereas the Congress has never officially recognized the contributions of free blacks and slaves to the struggle for American liberty and independence: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That—

(1) the Congress extends thanks to the descendants of free blacks and slaves who participated in the Revolution and acknowledges the contributions of these courageous men and women who, in aspiring to freedom, helped bring about American independence and set in motion events that contributed to the attainment of equal rights for blacks, particularly in recent decades;

(2) the Congress encourages the Federal Government, State and local governments and private organizations, particularly those hereditary organizations that honor Revolutionary War patriots to conduct appropriate activities during Black History Month 1985 in honor of black involvement in the Revolution;

(3) the Congress encourages State legislatures and city councils, especially those located in jurisdictions that provided black soldiers to the Continental Army and to State and local militias, and in jurisdictions where battles occurred, to issue proclamations acknowledging black contributions to the cause of freedom; and

Plaques and markers

(4) the Congress encourages the placement of plaques and markers in appropriate places, at Valley Forge and elsewhere, in commemoration of black involvement and heroism in the battles of the Revolution.

Approved March 27, 1984.

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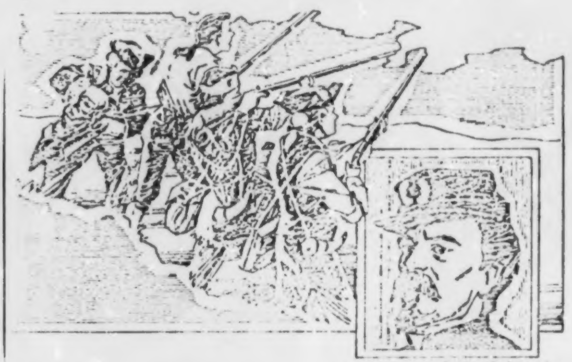
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—H.J. Res. 454:
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 130 (1984):
Feb. 29, considered and passed House.
Mar. 12, considered and passed Senate.

*"I am most pleased with the results of my battle ..."* — *Mrs. Lena Ferguson*



Chuck Lyons/The Pittsburgh Press

# A gift of heritage

By David O'Reilly

Knight-News-Tribune

LENA FERGUSON still remembers how the eyes of her Civil War ancestor, John Curtis Gay, gazed from a portrait in her childhood home.

That faded photograph of a white man in a Union uniform was on the wall in February 1939, when the nation was abuzz with a great scandal: the Daughters of the American Revolution had barred famed contralto Marian Anderson from singing at the DAR's Constitution Hall because she was "Negro."

Mrs. Ferguson was a child in Plainville, Conn., then, but she still remembers "how I tried to understand why a person would be stopped from singing somewhere, just because she was black." And she recalls gazing back at the faded photograph of her great-grandfather and saying to herself, "I bet our family goes back to the American Revolution, too."

Forty-one years later, Lena Santos Ferguson was living in Washington when she learned through a relative's research that her ancestors had indeed fought in the Revolution. "I was so proud," she said, that she applied for membership in a local chapter of the [illegible] because acceptance by the DAR [illegible] certify and register her family [illegible]

[illegible] bership in the patriotic society is restricted to women aged 18 and older who can trace their ancestry to those who served the cause of independence during the American Revolution. "It's a wonderful way to honor your ancestors and give a gift to your children," Mrs. Ferguson said.

But her grandfather — a son of the Union soldier in the portrait — had married a black woman. Their only child, Mrs. Ferguson's mother, married a black. And it is because she is black, Mrs. Ferguson said, that she was snubbed by the membership of the DAR chapter she sought to join. The two DAR members who sponsored her agreed.

As a result, the DAR became immersed in the biggest to-do since the Marian Anderson affair.

A resolution was reached earlier this month in which Sarah King, president general of the national society of the DAR, drafted a letter of agreement which states:

- "No chapter may discriminate against an applicant on the basis of race or creed." This amendment, approved by the executive committee, will be presented at the DAR's Continental Congress next April 13, and Mrs. King has pledged to "devote her best efforts" to achieving its adoption.
- The national society has established an ethics committee to investigate complaints of racial discrimination, will make positive efforts to prevent discrimination and will encourage eligible minority women to seek DAR membership.

Earlier, Mrs. King had said Mrs. Ferguson's rejection was the result of her "rushing the chapter for a decision."

But Mrs. Ferguson, a soft-spoken woman who prefers not to give her age, said she had worked and waited almost four years to join the chapter. The usual waiting period is three to four months.

She has never before been a civil rights activist, she said at her modest brick home in southeast Washington. The wife of a retired postal supervisor and a secretary at a local Catholic grammar school, she said she had never intended to launch a crusade on the DAR because she never expected to be rejected.

"I just wanted to belong because I was proud of my family," she said.

A year ago, after her application was turned down by the local chapter, she was granted at-large membership in the national society of the DAR, but it is a status that does not permit her to vote or participate in the charitable and social functions of any local chapter.

"You know, it's funny," said the reluctant activist, "but my father was an immigrant from the Cape Verde Islands (off the coast of West Africa) and the DAR helped him become a citizen. In fact, we still have the little book they gave him." And she pulled [illegible] citizenship that she and other family members had used in 1968 to coach her father, Ovedio Santos, for his naturalization exams.

His is one of more than 10 million such manuals that the DAR has issued to foreigners since 1920, manuals that are part of the DAR's longtime program designed to aid foreigners in winning citizenship.

During the interview, her nephew Maurice Barboza, and her friend, Margaret Johnston, arrived at Mrs. Ferguson's home. It was Barboza who had traced the family back to the 1650s and it was Mrs. Johnston who was Lena Ferguson's principal sponsor for DAR membership.

Despite their very different life styles, the two became allies. Mrs. Johnston, at 52, is a 14-year member of the society, an officer of the Washington League of Women Voters, the wife of a vice president of General Motors Corp., and a former member of the U.S. Foreign Service. She and her husband, James, maintain an elegant apartment in Washington's embassy district.

A native of Missouri, she is a descendant of Peter M. McCormack, an Irishman who fought under Washington and who was described in his obituary as a man "of independent spirit and comfortable living" — a description just as aptly applied to Mrs. Johnston. She was introduced to Mrs. Ferguson at a luncheon three years ago.

Together, the three presented the chronology of their efforts to win acceptance for Mrs. Ferguson into the DAR.

Like his aunt, Barboza, 28, had been "fascinated by the picture" of John Curtis Gay in his grandmother's home. After he traced the family's ancestry to the 1600s, Barboza, a lobbyist for the American Bar Association, was admitted to a Washington chapter of Sons of the American Revolution, a conservative and patriotic society similar to the DAR. Then he proposed to Mrs. Ferguson that she join the DAR.

In May 1980, she applied to the state regent but was advised she would need two sponsors from a local chapter.

A year passed before she met Mrs. Johnston, who promptly offered to sponsor her application to the Mary Washington chapter. In March 1981, the two attended a chapter meeting so that Mrs. Johnston could introduce her as a prospective member. But by the time the meeting was over, Mrs. Ferguson recalled, no other member had offered to co-sponsor her application.

"Nobody even said 'boo' to me. It really hurt," she said. "You want to be accepted as an individual and it doesn't happen."

Similar snubs occurred at an April tea, she said, when chapter members literally turned their backs on her. And in May 1981, when Mrs. Johnston wrote to every chapter officer asking her to co-sponsor Mrs. Ferguson, there were no replies.

Now that the matter apparently is settled, Mrs. Ferguson offered these thoughts when contacted at her home: "I am most pleased with the results of my battle and feel that it was well worth the effort. I also feel that the future of the (national society of the DAR) looks bright under the leadership of Mrs. King. I look forward to becoming an active member."

Pittsburgh's

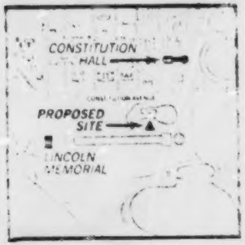
# OUTLOOK

## Commentary and Opinion

## Close to Home

*Maurice A. Barboza*

# A Memorial To Black Patriots



There is a movement now under way to construct a memorial in Washington to black patriots of the American Revolution. If the sponsors get their way, the memorial will be built on land visible from the steps of both Constitution Hall (the meeting place of the Daughters of the American Revolution) and the Lincoln Memorial. These sites, tinged with irony, are key factors in the instigation of this project, second only to the bravery and deeds of the men and women who will be honored.

Between 1775 and 1783, more than 5,000 black slaves and free persons fought in the revolution. Serving side-by-side with whites in all of the major battles from Lexington and Concord to Yorktown, blacks were wounded, disabled and captured, just as were white patriots.

There were many heroes. Most black patriots, regardless of when they enlisted, were in the war for the duration. That was generally the agreement they reached with their masters in exchange for personal freedom. And thousands of slaves ran away or filed petitions with courts and legislatures demanding their freedom. This activity [illegible] slavery and [illegible] (as historian Benjamin Quarles refers to the Revolution), several New England and Middle Atlantic states, by the turn of the 19th century, had banned slavery; other states passed laws to make it easier to free slaves.

Families, churches and self-help organizations that black soldiers and freedom-seekers founded nurtured the struggle against slavery and became the rock upon which the modern civil rights movement sits. Yet two generations after the revolution, these patriots and their deeds were erased from memory and degraded by discrimination against their descendants.

On April 9, 1939—155 years after these black patriots returned home as free men and second-class citizens—a chilly breeze whipping in from behind the Lincoln Memorial carried the words of the spiritual, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen"—as if from generations beyond—in the voice of black contralto Marian Anderson. Eyes closed and standing erect in front of the statue of Lincoln, she appeared to be almost in its embrace. The spiritual continued, "Nobody knows my sorrow."

A sea of 75,000 people stretched outward to the Washington Monument. The good will was flowing, the dignitaries were abundant. They came to listen to the voice that Arturo Toscanini said "one hears once in a hundred years" and to protest the [illegible] decision of the DAR to bar Anderson from the use of Constitution Hall for this Easter Sunday concert.

A controversy of international proportions arose. America's affliction with racism and hypocrisy was laid bare before world opinion, much like South Africa's is today. The DAR was condemned, and people wondered how the republic could allow itself for so long to treat blacks—even of Marian Anderson's stature—as something less than Americans.

Unwittingly, the DAR (because it honors Revolutionary War patriots) made her a bridge between six generations of blacks who had struggled to win American independence and end slavery and the next two generations that would struggle to end segregation and discrimination. She returned to the Lincoln Memorial in 1963 to sing the national anthem during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the modern equivalent of a black "declaration of independence." But the irony of the 1939 concert and the DAR's action would not become apparent until 1984, when the DAR would again rebuff a black woman because of her race.

Last spring, when Lena Santos Ferguson's four-year struggle with the DAR over membership became public, it received national attention. Few people realized that any black woman could be a descendant of a Revolutionary War patriot.

Ferguson waged a quiet campaign to gain acceptance into a local chapter and to force the DAR to honor the role blacks played in winning American independence. On Feb. 28, 1984—45 years and one day after Eleanor Roosevelt announced her resignation from the DAR in protest over its treatment of Marian Anderson—Lena Ferguson was instrumental in getting the House of Representatives to pass a resolution (now Public Law 98-245) honoring the contributions of blacks to the American Revolution. The DAR passed a similar resolution last April.

When the pressure became too great and the DAR was finally ready to accept Ferguson into a local chapter, she refused to join unless they would agree in writing to bar discrimination in membership (which they will do this April) and to identify each and every black patriot who served in the American Revolution and to publish their names.

When Marian Anderson was introduced that Easter Sunday, credit for her being a free person was given to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. Now—thanks to Lena Ferguson and contemporary black historians—we know that substantial credit should go to the black patriots and freedom-seekers of the revolutionary period.

The memorial to them will tell us something about the trouble these patriots saw in their lifetimes, and how it inspired them to shape the struggle for freedom. Together with the memorial, the project being undertaken by the DAR will reveal hundreds of unknown heroes who will serve as an example and a reminder to Americans. And tens of thousands of their black descendants will be able to trace their ancestry back to the Revolution.

The memorial will be constructed entirely with private funds. Legislation authorizing its site, H.J. Res. 142, was introduced in the House last month by Reps. Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.) and Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), along with 70 cosponsors. Like Marian Anderson's concert of 1939 and appearance in 1963, the memorial will bring Americans of all races and religions together—this time in a common understanding of our nation's racially diverse history.

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*The writer is a member of the Sons of the American Revolution and, along with his aunt, Lena Santos Ferguson, is working to construct the memorial to black patriots.*

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Senator Murkowski. Thank you, Mr. Barboza.

Mr. Crittenberger, you're giving Mrs. King's testimony; is that correct?

General Crittenberger. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Murkowski. Please proceed.

## STATEMENT OF SARAH McKELLEY KING, PRESIDENT GENERAL, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AS PRESENTED BY MAJ. GEN. W.D. CRITTENBERGER, JR., U.S. ARMY (RET.)

General Crittenberger. Mr. Chairman, I am General Crittenberger, and I'm a poor substitute for Sarah King, the president general of the DAR. Obviously, I'm not a daughter but, like Mr. Barboza, I am a son of the American Revolution.

I'll read her statement.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak today. As President General, I officially represent the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a nonpolitical organization whose membership is approximately 213,000 in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, England, France, Mexico, Australia, and Canada, comprising 3,146 chapter groups.

The National Society has a threefold objective which the members have zealously promoted in the 95 years of its history. These objectives are historic, educational and patriotic. One of our most consistent endeavors has been to promote for future generations tangible reminders of our heritage and to encourage patriotism and love of country.

The National Society is pleased to cooperate with the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation in its campaign to build a memorial to honor the more than 5,000 black men and women who fought and served with courage and distinction in the American Revolution. For two centuries, they have been America's invisible patriots. The time has come to highlight the contributions blacks have made towards the liberties which we celebrate each Fourth of July. The time has come to bring these black patriots of the Revolutionary War to the forefront of our historical consciousness.

The National Society is committed to raising public awareness of minority participation in the American Revolution. The DAR is engaged in research which will document and publish the names of blacks, women and other minorities who joined in our country's struggle for freedom. The DAR has already published a book, "Black Courage—1775-83: A Documentation of Black Participation in the American Revolution," by Robert Greene. This book which was released last January documents nearly 140 blacks who served the cause of independence.

The DAR is proud of its activities in this area. In am presently serving as a member of the Advisory Board of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation. "Both the Foundation and DAR share an acute awareness of and devotion to our country and our common heritage.

Last Fourth of July, we marched together to the knoll in Constitution Gardens were we hope one day to see a monument to black patriots. Particularly in this location, the monument would increase the awareness and sense of pride in the accomplishments of blacks and other minorities throughout this important period of our history. All Americans who fought to secure our freedom deserve the same full and just recognition. We feel that such a monument can have only positive results. It would create among people of the black community a sense of pride, of heritage, as well as a positive contribution towards the unity of all citizens.

We hope this committee, and later the full Senate, share our enthusiasm for this monument.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. Bevinetto [presiding]. Thank you.

Mr. Weinberg.

## STATEMENT OF ROBERT L. WEINBERG, COCHAIRMAN, NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Mr. WEINBERG. Mr. Chairman, I'm Robert Weinberg, appearing here today on behalf of the American Jewish Congress, a large national organization, and also on behalf of our National Capital Region of the American Jewish Congress.

I serve as co-chair of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the National Capital Region of the AJC. In private life, I'm a partner in the Washington law firm of Williams & Connelly. I have practiced for 25 years and I have served as president of the District of Columbia Bar.

The American Jewish Congress strongly supports the legislation before you this morning. And why, you may ask, has the AJC acquired this special commitment to this legislation to honor the black Revolutionary War heroes? Mr. Chairman, there are two fundamental reasons, two historical parallels that have brought about our commitment which caused us to march with the other groups on July 4 to Constitution Gardens and cause us to appear to testify today.

The Jewish community shares with the black community a long historic experience of slavery and of oppression and of emergency from slavery and oppression into freedom. The Emancipation Proclamation which one reads in the book of Exodus is some 3,000 years before the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, in the shadow of whose memorial this memorial to Black Revolutionary War Patriots will stand.

But although that history of slavery is long ago, it is keenly remembered. It is recalled daily in the liturgy of Jewish congregrations throughout the world, and every year by Jewish families at the Passover.

Sharing, as we do, with the black community this historic memory of slavery and oppression, we empathize strongly and specially with the role that has been served by those who died in the Revolutionary War, those who were themselves slaves and who died to secure freedom not only for themselves, but for all those in the United States.

A second historic parallel and a more recent one which moves us to support this legislation is the recent action of this body, this Congress, in enacting the legislation for the Holocaust Memorial. Citizens of all races and creeds joined with the Jewish community in achieving the legislation which established the Holocaust Memorial as a memorial to the martyrs of so many faiths and creeds and races who had perished in the Holocaust.

This Congress provided the land, the Federal land on which ground was just broken a few weeks ago for the Holocaust Memorial.

In the same spirit, we ask the Congress to provide the land upon which the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation will erect the memorial that will so suitably honor those who died for the freedom of us all.

Mr. Chairman, my sentiments in this regard have been more fully set forth in an article published last month in the Northern

Virginia Sun, which I would like to submit for the record, along with my prepared remarks.

I would conclude only as a Virginian, with a suitable quotation for this morning from Thomas Jefferson, that "History, by apprising men and women of the past, will enable them to judge the future."

Those who witness this memorial in Constitution Gardens will learn of our past and, by that, will help to evaluate our future performance as Americans during the centuries to come.

I thank you for the privilege of being present this morning on behalf of the American Jewish Congress.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Weinberg, with attachment, follows:]

Testimony of the

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Energy and Natural Resources
Sub-Committee on Public Lands,
Reserved Water and Resource Conservation

U.S. Senate

delivered by

Robert L. Weinberg, Co-Chair
National Capital Region Commission on
Law and Social Action

Tuesday, October 29, 1985

Mr. Chairman:

My name is Robert Weinberg. I am pleased to appear here today in my capacity as the co-Chairman of the National Capital Region Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress. I am a resident of Arlington, Virginia and a partner in the Washington Law Firm of Williams and Connolly and a past president of the District of Columbia Bar.

The American Jewish Congress is a national membership community relations organization founded in 1918 by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, and other distinguished Americans to protect the religious, civil, political and economic rights of all Americans and to promote the principles of democracy.

I appear before you today representing our national membership of over 40,000 and, specifically, the more than 2,500 members of the National Capital Region. Locally, we continue to work within the community to improve intergroup relations with the many other minorities that reside in our city and suburbs.

Unfortunately, we are usually called upon because of the needs to combat racism, struggle against prejudice and fight religious persecution. The Black and Jewish communities have worked side-by-side for many years drafting civil rights legislation and striving to ensure those protections afforded to us by our constitution. It is therefore with particular pleasure, Mr. Chairman, that we are here today supporting a symbol of brotherhood, extending our nation's belated appreciation to a group of Soldiers who fought so courageously for our freedom regardless of our individual color or religion.

The American Jewish Congress totally endorses the efforts to erect a War Memorial in honor of the forgotten Black heroes of the Revolutionary War. Many

- more -

hundreds of Blacks, themselves enslaved, joined in fighting for others' freedom from Colonial rule. Though one would hardly glean it from our typical textbook and mural treatments of Revolutionary War battles, George Washington's forces were an integrated Army. Historians now estimate that the Revolutionary Army included more than 5,000 Black soldiers -- some slave, some free. While a few were honored by grateful State Legislatures with grants of liberty, our Nation suffered the ignominy of others being returned to slavery by the very group whose freedom they had helped to win.

Recently, legislation was passed creating the U.S. Holocaust Memorial. The Holocaust Memorial will remind us that free men must never permit such incalculable suffering again. To the same purpose, we should not tarry in legislating the long overdue memorial to the long forgotten heroes of the Revolutionary War. As Thomas Jefferson wrote: "History, by apprising [men and women] of the past, will enable them to judge the future."

j:35

/rbon10/25/85

*By Robert Weinberg*

*September 14, 1985*

# Two Memorials

**Arlington resident Robert L. Weinberg, an attorney and longtime civic activist, has served as president of the District of Columbia Bar, president of the Arlington County Civic Federation and chairman of the the Arlington and Tenth Congressional District Democratic committee. He also serves as Co-Chair of the American Jewish Congress' regional Commission of Law and Social Action.**

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it," said the philosopher Santayana.

Two recent pieces of legislation — one passed and one pending —seek to recall unknown heroes and martyrs to freedom's cause, so that their loss may be our lesson.

Pending before Congress is a bill to authorize construction in Constitution Gardens, in sight of the Lincoln Memorial, of an appropriate monument to the black veterans of the American Revolutionary War. Many hundreds of blacks, themselves enslaved, joined in fighting for others' freedom from colonial rule. Though one would hardly glean it from our typical textbook and mural treatments of revolutionary war battles, George Washington's forces were an integrated army. Historians now estimate that the Revolutionary Army included more than 5,000 black soldiers — some slave, some free. While a few were honored by grateful state Legislatures, in Virginia and elsewhere, with grants of liberty, our nation suffered the ignominy of others being returned to slavery by the very group whose freedom they had helped to win.

The bill has broad-based and bipartisan support in Congress. It would be fitting, as the bill's advocates stress, for Congress to pass the bill by Veterans Day 1985, so that the memorial may stand in place by the bicentennial of our Constitution in 1987. The domestic peace and tranquility that document secures for us today was won by the sacrifices of two centuries past.

The original sponsors of the bill did not include Northern Virginia's representatives, nor our senators. Yet our Eighth and Tenth Districts lie closer and more accessible to the memorial site than the districts of any other state. It is not too late to urge our congressmen to lend the legislation their support. Especially Senator Warner, as architect of the 1976 Bicentennial observance, would have the sense of history that calls for the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to complete the memorial by 1987.

The second piece of legislation memorializing the tribulations of a once-enslaved people is the bill that recently created the Holocaust Memorial. The emancipation proclamation that we read in Exodus came three millennia before the Emancipation Proclamation read by Lincion. But the institutional memory of that earlier liberation from bondage remains as vivid; it is recalled daily in the liturgy of Jewish congregations throughout the world, and again annually by Jewish families gathered together at Passover. The Holocaust Memorial will remind us that free men must never permit such incalculiable suffering again. To the same purpose, we should not tarry in legislating the long overdue memorial to the long forgotten heroes of the Revolutionary War.

The Jewish New Year begins tomorrow evening. May it begin a year of peace and constructive reflection for all persons of good will, striving to recall and right the wrongs of the past. As Thomas Jefferson wrote: "History, by apprising (men and women) of the past, will enable them to judge of the future."

> Though one would hardly glean it from out typical textbook and mutual treatments or revolutionary war battles, George Washington's forces were an integrated army.

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Mr. Bevinetto. Thank you, Mr. Weinberg. Your statement and the article will be placed in the record.

Mr. Bates.

## STATEMENT OF CHARLES F. BATES, MOST WORSHIPFUL GRAND MASTER, PRINCE HALL MASONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Bates. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm here—my name is Charles Bates, and I'm here on behalf of Prince Hall Masons in the District of Columbia. The chairman asked earlier about the initials MWPH, and I wish to explain that I am the Most Worshipful Grand Master of Prince Hall Masonry in the District of Columbia. So MWPH is Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge.

Mr. Bevinetto. We'll correct the list to show that you are the representative of the Masons of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Bates. Thank you.

Today, I am honored to be here to testify in support of a memorial for blacks who fought honorably in the American Revolution and that this memorial be constructed in the Nation's Capital, Washington, DC.

During the Revolutionary War, black Americans played an important role in helping our country to gain its independence. Although more than 5,000 black patriots served during the American Revolution, I will reserve my comments to one of those black participants—Prince Hall, the founder of Black Masonry in this country.

Prince Hall was one of the Fathers of Freedom in the period of the American Revolution and the Founding Fathers. He was a black American in slavery and, in freedom, motivated by interests and goals, as were white Americans. He was active in the struggle for the independence and self-government of the United States, as well as for the freedom of blacks with whom he was an active leader and a participant in their activities.

The primary distinction for Prince Hall was that he was the founder of Masonry for blacks in this country.

Prince Hall was born in Barbados, British West Indies, in 1735, the son of an English father and a free Negro mother. References concerning Prince Hall stated that he migrated to Boston at an early age. He was active leader of the colonial blacks in Massachusetts, an advocate and activist in the termination of slave trade and slavery.

As the difficulties over taxation and trade increased between the American colonies and Great Britain, the Revolutionary War seemed to be inevitable with the spirit of independence spreading to larger numbers.

Mr. Chairman, I'm not going to belabor the subcommittee with a lengthy history of Prince Hall and the American Revolution, but I would like to say this. The first military action in which black Americans participated was the Boston Massacre in March of 1770. Cripus Attucks, a black man, was among five Americans who were shot by the British soldiers. From this time onward, the Revolution gained momentum. This incident may have motivated Prince Hall's master to grant him his freedom in April 1770.

In 1775, blacks were exempt from enrollment in the general militia. It was in April 1778 that the Town of Medford enlisted Prince Hall after resolving any ambiguity by legally sanctioning the enlistment of Negroes.

During the American Revolutionary War, Prince Hall and 14 other free Masons of color were inducted in the Masonic Lodge by a group of British soldiers stationed in Boston.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to just give you a little bit of background of Black Masonry in this country. Later, African Lodge No. 459 was formed, thus organizing the first Masonic Lodge for Negroes in America. Prince Hall petitioned the Grand Lodge of England for a charter. The charter was prepared and issued under the date of September 29, 1784, but it was not delivered until 3 years later.

A letter was sent by William Moody of London, England to Prince Hall on March 10, 1787, stating that the charter was taken from the Grand Lodge and delivered by Capt. James Scott, Master of the Ship *Neptune.* Captain Scott was a brother-in-law of John Hancock, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and president of the Continental Congress. The charter reached Boston on April 29, 1787.

The original charter of African Lodge is in the possession of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and has been kept in a bank security box. This charter is the only original 18th century charter still in existence by American Lodge of the Grand Lodge of England. It is our evidence of legitmacy. It is a document of historical importance to Prince Hall Masons throughout this country.

The Prince Hall Masons, after a continuous existence of nearly two centuries, now number over a half million in more than 5,500 lodges throughout the United States. These men, dedicated to a belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, have supported many charitable enterprises and have made a significant contribution to the ethical standards and welfare of millions of American citizens.

Prince Hall was just one of over 5,000 black patriots who fought for freedom and justice and helped our country gain its independence.

With all the injustices and oppressions blacks were made to endure, this certainly would be a fitting tribute to all Afro-Americans, that we too had a part in the struggle for independence. This memorial would remind all Americans, black and white, of these black patriots' fight for independence and freedom.

As Prince Hall Masons throughout this country, we have pledged ourselves to defend and protect the Constitution, its Bill of Rights, and to work toward the goal of one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bates follows:]

Statement by: Charles F. Bates
Most Worshipful Grand Master
Prince Hall Masons of the District of Columbia
1000 "U" St., N.W. Suite 600 (202) 462-8877

Today, I am honored to be here to testify in support of a memorial for Blacks who fought honorably in the American Revolution, and that this memorial be constructed in the nations Capital, Washington D. C.

During the Revolutionary War, Black Americans played an important role in helping our country to gain its independence. Although more than 5,000 Black patriots served during the American Revolution, I will reserve my comments to one of those Black participants, namely Prince Hall, the founder of Black Masonry in this country.

Prince Hall was one of the Fathers of Freedom in the period of the American Revolution and the Founding Fathers. He was a black American in slavery and in freedom motivated by interests and goals as were white Americans. He was active in the struggle for the independence and self-government of the United States, as well as for the freedom of blacks with whom he was an active leader and a participant in their activities. He was a black man in America torn between significant causes in this first of our nation's beginning.

The primary distinction for Prince Hall was that he was the Founder of Masonry, not by copying and imitating white American Masonry but by the application to and the approval of British Masonry in the period of the American Revolution when the rights of men were being tested. American Masons had not invited nor considered black Americans for admission to their lodges, nor assisted in the separate organization of them. It was rumored that General Joseph Warren, a Mason and Grand Master, who was the owner of one slave, had this proposal under consideration, but his death at the Battle of Bunker Hill brought an end to this project.

Prince Hall was born in Barbados, British West Indies in 1735, the son of an English father and a free Negro mother. References concerning Prince Hall, stated that he migrated to Boston at an early age. He was first trained to become a skilled leather worker, but after a few years of training gave up that apprenticeship.

He was an active leader of colonial blacks in Massachuetts, an advocate and activist in the termination of the slave trade and slavery. He recognized the value of education and in 1787 campaigned for the establishment of schools for Negro children in Boston.

As the difficulties over taxation and trade increase between the American colonies and Great Britain, the Revolutionary War seemed to be inevitable with the spirit of independence spreading to larger numbers.

History informs me that, the first military action in which Black Americans participated was the Boston Massacre in March 1770. Cripus Attucks, a black man, was among five Americans who were shot by the British soldiers. From this time onward the Revolution gained momentum. This incident may have motivated Prince Hall's master to grant him his freedom in April 1770.

In 1775, blacks were exempt from enrollment in the general militia. It was in April 1778 that the town of Medford enlisted Prince Hall after resolving any ambiquity by legally sanctioning the enlistment of Negroes.

In Massachusetts, groups of clergymen and Quakers urged the General Court to prevent free Negroes from being kidnapped and sold into slavery. Prince Hall brought forward a strongly worded statement calling for the total abolition of the traffic in human beings. The legislature quickly responded by passing an act prohibiting the slave trade and establishing a procedure by which persons who were kidnapped or decoyed out of the Commonwealth could obtain redress.

Prince Hall recognized the value of education and in 1787 campaigned for the establishment of schools for Negro children in Boston.

Prince Hall was a patient and courageous man. He made use of firmness of mind and steadfastness of will in the face of difficulty. He was a man of vision. He looked to the future and saw something to be accomplished by him in making the future beneficial to others.

During the Revolutionary War, Prince Hall and 14 other free men of color were inducted into the Masonic Lodge by a group of British Soldiers stationed in Boston.

Later, African Lodge Number 459 was formed, thus organizing the first Masonic Lodge for Negroes in America.

Prince Hall petitioned the Grand Lodge of England for a charter. The charter was prepared and issued under the date of September 29, 1784, but it was not delivered until three years later.

A letter was sent by William Moody of London England to Prince Hall on March 10, 1787, stating that the charter was taken from the Grand Lodge and delivered to Captain James Scott, Master of the Ship Neptune. Captain Scott was a brother-in-law of John Hancock, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and President of the Continental Congress. The charter reached Boston on April 29, 1787.

The original charter of African Lodge is in the possession of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and has been kept with security in a bank security box. This charter is the only original eighteenth century charter issued to any American lodge by the Grand Lodge of England still in existence. [illegible] is their evidence of legitimacy. It is a document of historical importance to Prince Hall Masons. From and through this charter for the Masonic lodges with their degrees there has come the Prince Hall Lodges of the United States.

The Prince Hall Masons, after a continuous existence of nearly two centuries, now number over a half million in more than 5,500 lodges throughout the United States. These men, dedicated to a belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, have supported many charitable enterprises and have made a significant contribution to the ethical standards and welfare of millions of American citizens.

Prince Hall was just one of over 5,000 black patriots who fought for freedom and justice and helped our country gain its independence.

This memorial would remind all Americans black and white of these black patriots fight for independence and freedom.

With all the injustices and oppressions, Blacks were made to endure, this certainly would be a fitting tribute to all Afro-Americans that we too had a part in the struggle for independence.

As Prince Hall Masons throughout this country and abroad, we have pledged ourselves to defend and protect the Constitution, its Bill of Rights, and to work toward the goal of one Nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

Senator **Murkowski** [presiding]. Thank you very much, Mr. Bates. We very much appreciate the recommendations and testimony of the witnesses and feel that the effort on behalf of our colleagues in both the House and the Senate relative to the pending legislation before us represents a commitment by not only our Government, but the Congress as well. And the recommendations suggested in your testimony will be reviewed in detail by the subcommittee and we very much appreciate your contribution to what will be a very meaningful and lasting memorial for the specific causes addressed in the appropriate bills.

Thank you very much.

Mr. **Barboza**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity.

Senator **Murkowski**. Our next panel—I'm going to bring up the balance of our witnesses.

June Willenz, executive director of the American Veterans Committee; Edward Borcherdt, president, Korean War Memorial, Inc.; Conrad Hausman, executive secretary, Korean War Memorial; and Carl Swickerath, Society of the Third Infantry Divison, Rockville, MD, who will be accompanied by Col. Lyle Bernard of Arlington, VA.

We will arrange appropriate seating and we're going to take the first witnesses, representatives of the Korean War Memorial, Edward Borcherdt and Conrad Hausman. Then we'll take the other witnesses as we're able.

But, please—are you gentlemen witnesses? All right, would you come up? There's two chairs remaining, and I would ask the staff—do we need any extra chairs? We've got enough? OK, fine.

Would Mr. Borcherdt proceed?

## STATEMENT OF EDWARD R. BORCHERDT, PRESIDENT, KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, INC.; ACCOMPANIED BY CONRAD HAUSMAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, INC.

Mr. **Borcherdt**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In the interests of time, I'd like to ask that our written statement be submitted to the record.

Senator **Murkowski**. Your statement will be entered into the record, and as you know we're keeping a 3-minute time limit.

Mr. **Borcherdt**. I'd like a few summary remarks. No. 1, I am president of the Korean War Memorial, Inc. I was a Marine Corps platoon leader in Korea. The executive director of our group is Col. Conrad Hausman, sitting on my right. Colonel Hausman received a battlefield commission in Korea, wears a Silver Star, and was cited for gallantry in action.

We are a grass roots veterans group of the Korean war.

The issue today here, Mr. Chairman, is not whether or not we'll build a monument, but how we're going to finance it and how to control it. And the question here is simply private versus public. In spite of the administration's position, there has been no testimony today for private funding. And I would regretfully like to report to you that our group which stands for the private funding of this memorial—we were not permitted to testify at the House hearings.

Representative Florio's staff man, Mr. Fortunato, told me specifically—and I quote him—he said, "We on the House side are not interested in hearing anything about private funding." We submitted a statement in writing to that committee and it was denied. We submitted it to Mrs. Oakar's people. So we are very upset that the hearings that were held in the House did not permit testimony for private funding, and this is one of the great issues at stake here.

We wish to thank you very much for permitting us to speak today.

Senator Murkowski. Thank you very much.

I'm told that there's some confusion in the House.

[Pause.]

Senator Murkowski. What the clarification was, obviously, if you weren't allowed to testify in the House, that's unfortunate. We attempt to try and accommodate all witnesses here, and so far we've been able to do it on this hearing, so I want that to be noted in the record.

Thank you very much, Mr. Borcherdt, you may continue.

Mr. Borcherdt. Thank you, sir. The issue here is public versus private funding, and we have in this Nation's Capital, as has been pointed out earlier, two monuments—one monument constructed by Battle Monuments Commission, which is the Pershing Memorial, and one monument constructed by the Vietnam veterans, which is the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial. Needless to say, the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial is one of the most visited—in fact, it is the most visited memorial in the Capital today.

Our group is very similar to the Vietnam Memorial. We are a veterans group and we want to do it privately. We want to follow the lessons that we've learned from them, and we would like to construct a memorial which is controlled and financed by private people.

As I say, Vietman is a blueprint for us, and that is what we intend to follow.

What people have failed to realize is, they say there's been a lot of money spent in administrative costs on the Vietnam Memorial and that we have spent excessive administrative money, too. What people don't understand is, that money has gone out, and the 2 million letters in excess that we have sent out have been one of the reasons that support across this Nation has been generated for a Korean war memorial.

The thing you have to realize, if the Government finances it, you go up and you get a check from Uncle Sam, and those are really, cold unpassionate dollars. The money that we propose to bring in will come from people across this land, and the reason that Vietnam has been successful is because a lot of people from every hamlet participated and were aware of the effort and contributed to the construction of the Vietnam Memorial.

And we say that this is the essence of this thing, the human involvement. We are prepared to do that. Private funds are readily available from the veterans' organizations, from the wide corporate support that is there, and I think we have only to look at what's going on today with the Statue of Liberty as an example of private funding.

We are not interested in having another bureaucratic monument put up in the Nation's Capital that nobody is going to really pay any attention to. We want something magnificent, like the Vietnam Memorial. We intend to follow that blueprint, and that is the basis for our organization.

We thank you for the opportunity to appear here today and we fully support Senator Denton's position and hope that the private side of this issue will get proper attention.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Borcherdt follows:]

**KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL INC.**

Testimony of Edward R. Borcherdt, President, Korean War Memorial Inc., before the United States Senate, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, October 29, 1985.

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We appreciate the opportunity to appear before this committee today.

The Korean War Memorial Inc. was organized in 1981 for the sole purpose of constructing an appropriate national memorial to honor America's Veterans who served their country during the Korean conflict.

The Korean War began on June 30, 1950, and ended on July 27, 1953. During this time, 54,246 Americans were killed, 103,284 were wounded, 11,000 were taken prisoners of war, (2600 of whom died in prison camps), and 389 were reported missing in action.

Of all the major wars fought by the United States, only Korea is not represented by an appropriate national memorial. History books and public libraries record little of the Korean conflict which has been appropriately called the

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"forgotten war". It is altogether fitting that we now honor the brave Americans of that war with a memorial.

The Korean War Memorial Inc. presently has 23,000 contributing supporters located throughout the United States. Its directorship includes distinguished Americans--most of whom are Korean War Veterans--and includes representatives from the Disabled American Veterans, AMVETS, the "Chosen Few" organization, and The National Order of Battlefield Commissions.

The Korean War Memorial has raised approximately $650,000 during its existence and has used these funds to mail 2.5 million letters to Americans in every state urging construction of a Korean War Memorial. We believe that today's hearings are largely a result of these publicity efforts.

S.J. Resolution 184 introduced by the Distinguished Senator Jeremiah Denton on July 31, 1985, is fully supported by the Korean War Memorial Inc. This Bill calls for the construction of a Korean War Memorial within the environs of

The District of Columbia and upon federal land designated and maintained by the Department of the Interior. It proposes construction with private funds and design consultation with the Battle Monuments Commission.

We presently estimate that construction costs will approximate $5,000,000. We favor private funding because funds are readily available once Congress designates a specific group to construct the memorial. Additionally, we believe that privately managed construction will permit the memorial to be completed in a more expedient and efficient manner than if the project were to be directed by agencies of the federal government. We also believe that in this era of great federal defecit, "Uncle Sam" should not be saddled with the cost of construction when private enterprise stands ready to complete the task. Lastly, we believe that direct involvement by veterans and civic groups across this land in raising the necessary construction funds will serve to properly focus and recognize the brave deeds of the Americans who fought in the Korean War. Korean Veterans have never been formally recognized for their efforts and sacrifice. We should honor these veterans now while many of them are still living.

The Vietnam Memorial, which was constructed with private funds, today stands as one of the most visited and inspiring memorials in our nation's capitol. This accomplishment is visable proof that private funding can do the job ... and do it well.

The Korean War Memorial Inc. is an established, responsible organization capable of raising the required funding. We would welcome participation by the GAO to assure financial responsibility and integrity for the project.

We respectfully request that the Congress grant us authority to undertake this important task. We are prepared to move forward immediately.

Thank you for your kindness in permitting us to appear before you today.

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 99th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 131 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1985 No. 105

# Senate

### ERECTION OF A MEMORIAL BY THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, INC.

**Mr. DENTON.** Mr. President, I am today introducing legislation to authorize the erection of a memorial to the veterans of the Korean War by the group known as Korean War Memorial, Inc., using private funds.

It is clear that the time has come for our country to acknowledge the contributions and sacrifices of our men and women who served during the Korean War. The Korean War is the only significant conflict in which U.S. troops were engaged that does not have a memorial in our Nation's capital.

The joint resolution would authorize the erection of the memorial on public grounds on a site to the selected by the Secretary of the Interior with the approval of the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission. The design and plans for the memorial would be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the National Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the American Battle Monuments Commission.

No expenditure of Federal funds would be authorized, and the Federal contribution to the construction of the memorial would be limited to the provision of the land. The Secretary of the Interior, however, would be responsible for the maintenance and care of the memorial.

Finally, the authority for Korean War Memorial, Inc., to erect the memorial would lapse if construction does not commence within 5 years after the enactment of the legislation, and unless prior to construction there are sufficient funds collected to ensure completion.

Mr. President, there have been several pieces of legislation introduced in the Congress to provide a Korean War Memorial. Most of them provide for Federal funding. Certainly that may be an appropriate use of Federal funds, but at a time of serious budget deficits it would seem more prudent and responsible to enter in to an undertaking of this type using private funds if at all possible.

It also occurs to me that the Government's track record in the completion of memorials is not one of the best examples of speed and efficiency, as those of us who have visited the beautiful Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial can attest.

I understand that some of my colleagues have concerns about private funding of a memorial in light of the situation with another memorial. I think it only fair to point out, however, that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial did turn out fairly well, and its popularity certainly attests to its responsiveness to the concerns of many of our citizens. Moreover, I believe it fair to say that that memorial was erected far more quickly with private funds than it would have been with public funds.

In addition, the joint resolution that I am introducing today specifically provides for approval of the design by several responsible organizations. I believe that the inclusion of the American Battle Monuments Commission among them will ensure that the design is fully appropriate.

Finally, I should note that the Korean War Memorial, Inc., represents a responsible group of Korean War veterans, and has the support of many of our veterans organizations. It is worth noting that the activities of Korean War Memorial, Inc., played a major role in awakening public consciousness to the need for a memorial and in bringing the Congress to the point where action to provide a memorial seems assured.

Under its current leadership, Korean War Memorial, Inc., is a responsible organization that is fully aware of the challenge of raising private funding but that is in a position to do it successfully. I believe that it will be able to move quickly and effectively, in a way that satisfies the interests of all concerned.

Mr. President, the time has come for the Congress to act to authorize a Korean War memorial. The brave men and women who served in our Armed Forces during that conflict deserve no less.

I urge my colleagues to support the joint resolution to authorize a privately funded memorial, and I hope that the Congress will act quickly to provide a fitting tribute to our Korean War veterans.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the joint resolution be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. J. RES. 184

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Korean War Memorial, Inc. is authorized to erect a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs, subject to authorization by the Secretary of the Interior as provided in section 2 to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean War, particularly those who were killed in action, listed as missing in action or held as prisoners of war.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to select, with the approval of the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, a suitable site on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs, upon which may be erected the memorial authorized in the first section of this resolution.

(b) The design and plans for such memorial shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the National Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the American Battle Monuments Commission.

(c) Except for the land authorized for the erection of the memorial in the first section, no funds may be expended, obligations incurred, or property given by the United States, the District of Columbia, or any State or local government for the erection of the memorial.

SEC. 3. The authority conferred pursuant to this resolution shall lapse unless—

(1) the erection of such memorial is commenced within five years from the date of enactment of this resolution; and

(2) prior to the erection of the memorial, funds are certified available in an amount sufficient in the judgement of the Secretary of the Interior to insure completion of the memorial.

SEC. 4. The maintenance and care of the memorial and grounds shall be the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior

[illegible], JR.
ALABAMA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

9 September 1985

Dear Colleague:

On 31 July 1985, I introduced S. J. Res. 184, a Joint Resolution to authorize a private group, Korean War Memorial, Inc., to erect a memorial to veterans of the Korean War.

I share the concern of many of my colleagues in both bodies that there be an appropriate memorial in our Nation's Capital to the brave men and women who fought for freedom in the Korean conflict. It is our only major conflict that is not marked by a memorial.

There have been several bills introduced in the Congress to build a memorial. Most of them provide for federal funding. At a time of serious budget deficits, it seems more prudent and responsible to use private funding if it is reasonably possible to do so.

S. J. Res 184 provides for the building of the memorial by the private group Korean War Memorial Inc. That group represents responsible Korean War veterans, has the support of many of our veterans organizations, and is fully aware of the challenge of raising private funding but is in a position to do it successfully.

I am gratified that there is a growing view in the Congress that there should be a Korean War memorial. As we consider the issue, I believe that we should look carefully at the possibilities for private as well as for public funding. I hope that you will share that view, and that you will join me in sponsoring S. J. Res. 184.

For your information, I enclose a copy of S. J. Res. 184 and of my introductory statement. If you will join me in cosponsoring the legislation, or if you wish additional information, please call me or have a member of your staff call Allan Cameron of my staff at 4-5744.

Sincerely,

Jeremiah Denton

Jeremiah Denton
United States Senator

JD:cr
Enclosure

I

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 378

Designating July 27, 1986, as "Korean Veterans Commemoration Day".

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 10, 1985

Mr. RANGEL introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

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# JOINT RESOLUTION

Designating July 27, 1986, as "Korean Veterans Commemoration Day".

Whereas 5,700,000 members of the armed forces of the United States served in Korea between June 25, 1950, and July 27, 1953;

Whereas 54,246 members of such armed forces were killed and 103,284 members of such armed forces were wounded in the service of their country during the Korean conflict;

Whereas more than 7,100 members of such armed forces were held as prisoners of war during the Korean conflict, of whom more than 2,600 did not survive their ordeal;

Whereas the Korean conflict was the first undeclared and limited war in which the armed forces of the United States were engaged after World War II;

Whereas more than 5,400,000 veterans of the Korean conflict have established themselves as productive members of American society; and

Whereas no memorial has been erected and no day of recognition has been established to honor veterans of the Korean conflict: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That July 27, 1986, is designated as "Korean Veterans Commemoration Day", and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies.

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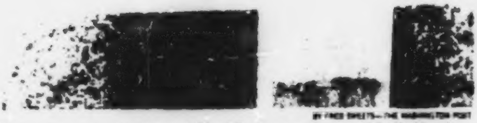


BY FRED SWEETS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Korean veterans Carl Sitter and Lloyd Burke stop at grave of Audie Murphy.

# *Korean Veterans Mark End of 'Forgotten War'*

## Drive on to Win Approval for a Memorial

By Nancy Scannell
Washington Post Staff Writer

The yellow mums they held were one of the few visible signs of unity among the 60 men who went to Arlington National Cemetery yesterday with the goal of reawakening memories of what they call "The Forgotten War."

It had been exactly 32 years ago to the day that their war, the Korean conflict, ended. As the men walked, some still limping from war wounds, down the rain-slicked amphitheater to a wreath-laying service, they spoke of those who fought in Korea, "the land of the morning calm."

There were few moments of calm, the gray-haired veterans recalled, in the three-year conflict that the government called a "police action." They vividly remember a bloody war that took 54,236 lives and left 103,000 wounded and 389 missing.

With the monuments of Washington forming a fog-shrouded backdrop, they paused near the Tomb of Unknown Soldier and asked each other why there are no memorials here to their war, a question they put to Congress last week.

"We're the only veterans of a 'police action' that don't have a memorial in Washington," said former Army Col. Lloyd (Scooter) Burke, who wore the Medal of Honor around his neck, as shiny as the day he received it from President Truman in 1952.

Burke, who is from Burke, Va., and Carl Sitter, a retired Marine colonel who was also a recipient of the Medal of Honor, fanned out with the other veterans across the cemetery to lay their yellow mums on the graves of veterans of the Korean and other wars.

After stopping briefly at the grave of Audie Murphy, the most decorated hero of World War II, Burke and Sitter took pains—as did other veterans yesterday—to explain that the Korean veterans bear no grudge about the memorial and recent national attention given to Vietnam veterans.

"We're very proud for the Vietnam veterans because they have justly deserved it," said Sitter, a Richmond native who, with Burke, served in Vietnam.

As the veterans gathered later at a Rosslyn hotel, reminiscing about nights of fear and courage in such battles as Pork Chop Hill, Old Baldy and T-Bone Hill, they said it is for the men who fought, and the nurses who cared for them, that they want a memorial.

Korean veteran Bill Norris, who is spearheading the effort to win approval for a memorial, organized what has became the Korean War Veterans Association. He said too many people think of Korea as the place where Hawkeye Pierce and other "M*A*S*H*" characters cavorted.

Norris began a Korean veterans chapter in New York recently after his daughter returned empty-handed from the Halfmoon, N.Y., library where she had gone to research a high school paper on the war.

"What got to me was that she couldn't find anything. I said: 'Baby, how do you think we feel?' We fought over there,' " the former Army sergeant said.

7/28/85 WASH POST

## Stamps

# Remembering Korea

By Samuel A. Tower
Special to The Washington Post

The tribute to the military, individually and collectively, that is the main theme of this year's U.S. issues continues with a new 22-cent commemorative for Korean war veterans.

By the time the Korean war ended on July 27, 1953, after three years of bitter fighting, more than 54,000 Americans had been killed and 103,000 wounded.

Four times the tide of battle swung from one end of the peninsula to the other in a succession of offensives and counteroffensives until a truce left Korea divided at the 38th parallel, the prewar line of demarcation.

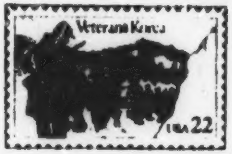
The war had its roots in the terms of the 1945 surrender by Japan, which had occupied Korea since 1910. Under those terms Korea was divided into north and south sections at the 38th parallel—the Russians in the north, Americans in the south.

The Soviet Union set up a government, which claimed all of Korea, and trained and equipped a large army there. In the south, the Republic of Korea was established under U.N. sponsorship.

On June 25, 1950, North Koreans crossed the border in a massive invasion of South Korea. With the impetus of President Truman, the U.N. Security Council, which the Soviet Union was temporarily boycotting, adopted a U.S.-sponsored resolution calling for members to provide aid to South Korea. The United States immediately sent ground, sea and air forces to combat the invaders as part of a U.N. command under Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

American troops sent to reinforce the South Koreans were almost driven off the peninsula before holding at Pusan, the sole remaining supply port. With reinforcements, the Americans struck back and recaptured Seoul, taking 100,000 North Korean prisoners. After pausing, the Americans pushed on to the Yalu River, which separates Korea from Manchuria.

As MacArthur pressed ahead, hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops counterattacked, driving back the U.N. forces and retaking Seoul. By April 1951 a U.N. counteroffensive had moved back across the 38th parallel. The Chinese launched a fierce offensive, but by mid-June the battle lines stabilized. Negotiations toward a truce dragged on for two years.



© 1985 U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

The new stamp depicts one of the most characteristic scenes of the war—weary soldiers trudging through a mountain pass. The design is Robert Anderson's drawing from a photograph by David Douglas Duncan.

The stamp has been produced by intaglio with the design in green and the lettering in red. There is a single-digit plate number per post office pane of 50 stamps, along with three usual marginal inscriptions.

Orders for first-day-of-issue cancellations must be postmarked by Aug. 25. Collectors affixing stamps on envelopes, which must be addressed, should send the covers to Customer-Affixed Envelopes, Korean War Veterans Stamps, Postmaster, Washington, D.C. 20066-9991.

Collectors preferring full processing by the Postal Service should send their envelopes, which must bear addresses, to Korean War Veterans Stamp, Postmaster, Washington, D.C. 20066-9992. The cost is 22 cents for each stamp affixed on a cover. Personal checks are preferred.

## KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL INC.

Board of Directors, September, 1985

| | |
|---|---|
| President: | Edward R. Borcherdt Jr. Businessman. Presidential Appointee, Board of Visitors, United States Naval Academy. Korean Veteran, 2000 M Street, N.W. Suite 200 Washington, D.C. 20036. |
| Vice President: | Jack Hessman, Federal employee. Co-Founder "Chosen Few", Veterans of the Chosen Reservior Battle in Korea, December 1950. 1219 Penrose Street, Rockville, Md. 20853. |
| Treasurer: | Kenneth M. Scheibel, Journalist. WWII Veteran, Former President, National Press Club, Washington, D.C. Co-Founder, Korean War Memorial. 1325 18th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. |
| Secretary: | Colonel Conrad Hausman, U.S.A. (Ret.), Businessman. President Korean Section, Battlefield Commissions Association. 716 S. 25th Street, Arlington, VA 22202. |
| Director: | Dr. Timothy Hallinan, Professor. Former employee U.S. AID Agency - Korea., Co-Founder and First President, Korean War Memorial, 6323 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, VA 22041. |
| Director: | Robert L. Wilbraham, Businessman. Past National Commandor of the AMVETS, Korean Veteran, 6238 Campbell Road, Mentor, OH 44060. 216/942-4989. or AMVETS National Headquarters, 4647 Forbes Blvd., Lanham, MD 20706. |
| Director: | Thomas G. Dehne, Assistant National Adjutant, Disabled American Veterans (DAV). Disabled Veteran - Korea. DAV National Headquarters, P.O. Box 14301, Cincinnati, OH 45214. |

2550 M Street, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C., 20037 (202) 429-9819

Director: Paul N. McCloskey Jr., Attorney. Former member United States House of Representives, Awarded Navy Cross as Marine Corps Infantry Platoon Leader in Korea. Brobeck, Phleger & Harrison, Two Embreadero Place, 2200 Geng Road, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

Director: Major General James W. Gerard II U.S.A. (Ret.) Civic Leader, Korean Veteran. 515 Madison Ave., New York N.Y. 10021.

Director: James M Tully, Global Research International Inc. Korean Veteran. 2550 M St, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

Advisor: General Paul L. Freeman Jr., U.S.A. (Ret.) Korean Veteran. 3445 Marzin Raod, Carmel, CA. 93923.

Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much.

Having had the opportunity last evening to attend Our Lady Remembers at the Kennedy Center, which was a presentation of a special symphony that was written and played by the Detroit Symphony Orchestra to honor the Statue of Liberty, the 100th year celebration and the kick-off of this year's honoring that particular part of Americana, I can certainly speak for your comparison of points in the sense of the war memorial and the contribution that was made by the Government of France and from private contributions to present that to the United States.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Hausman.

Colonel **Hausman**. No; that was the same, sir.

Senator **Murkowski**. OK.

A question has come up on whatever financial information or statement you may have. Would you have any objection to submitting those for the record?

Mr. **Borcherdt**. No objections at all. I would like to say that the Vietnam Veterans were questioned, we've been questioned, we have had a full audit by the IRS, the FBI, and the Postal Service. And in act, we in our statement, we have said we'd be very happy to have GAO supervision of any funds that we collect and oversight. We'd welcome that.[1]

Senator **Murkowski**. Hopefully, they'd pay interest on it, but don't count on it.

Thank you.

Our next witness would be June Willenz, executive director of the American Veterans Committee. We welcome you to the committee and look forward to your testimony.

## STATEMENT OF JUNE WILLENZ, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; ACCOMPANIED BY DR. PAUL COOKE, MEMBER, NATIONAL BOARD, AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

Ms. **Willenz**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am very pleased to be here and, first of all, let me commend you for introducing S.J. Res. 156 in collaboration with a good many of your colleagues. We commend you for your initiative.

I would like to present our witness, the witness of the American Veterans Committee, a past National Chairman and a distinguished educator, Dr Paul Phillips Cooke, who has been very active and important in the educational life of this city, a former president of the D.C. Teachers College, Dr. Paul Phillips Cooke, who will summarize our statement, and of course we will submit the full statement for the record, and then I will add a few comments.

Senator **Murkowski**. Please proceed.

Dr. **Cooke**. Thank you, Ms. Willenz; thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to say once again what I've said, I guess approaching now 38 years in behalf of the American Veterans Committee. Its position has always been oriented by the slogan, "Citizens First, Veterans Second."

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[1] No financial information was provided by Mr Borcherdt or Colonel Hausman.

For the record, I submit the statement and say now that the position of the American Veterans' Committee whose inception, I suppose, was 5 or 6 years before I joined in 1947, is in support of your resolution, S.J. Res. 156 and in support of setting aside public land for an appropriate site for a memorial to women who have served in the Armed Forces—or with indeed, too, Mr. Chairman, the Armed Forces of the United States.

I added "with the Armed Forces," because as I recall completing my doctorate at Columbia University in 1947, I had the aid of the G.I. Bill of Rights which women in the WAC and the WAS did not benefit from.

I say that this memorial is appropriate and fitting recognition of the service of women. You mentioned in your initial statement, 4 percent of veterans—today 10 percent of the Armed Forces are women. They hold now flag rank, and it was good to see, 2 or 3 months, a black or a Negro general being appointed, recognized in the media. So they are moving up.

But this kind of recognition, publicly, on public land here in the District of Columbia, as S.J. Res. 156 proposes, helps to serve as a role model for many a young woman who just doesn't know the kind of service which indeed Mrs. Willenz has summarized in her book from the time of the Revolutionary War. At the time the black Revolutionary War patriots were serving, women also were serving. And Ms. Willenz's book carries us through, historically, the Civil War, the First World War, the Second, and indeed today to what women veterans are saying.

Mrs. Willenz herself, by the way, serves on the Veterans Administration Advisory Committee on Women Veterans. This in itself, an establishment of a commission by the V.A., helps to recognize the service and the role, and often the denial to women what we male veterans benefited from. Mine came from World War II, and a V.A. mortgage on buying a home was a benefit. The kind of benefit that came to male veterans, we must always see, will come to women veterans and to women in the armed services.

I've mentioned Mrs. Willenz's book. I'll turn back to her in a second because she'd like to present it to the committee for the record. But I heard her speak at the 17th General Assembly of the World Veterans' Federation on this matter of women in the Services, and I had the opportunity make a small contribution of a paper that would assist her which pointed out that in the United Nations, although I think the United Nations has an effective, steady, widespread record of supporting women, the economic, social, political, cultural advantage, but it has not done so for the woman in service, for the woman veteran, is something to recognize that here we have an opportunity in the United States. and no doubt I think around the world. Increasingly, nation states will recognize the service of women in the Armed Forces, and again I support the American Veterans' Committee, S.J. Resolution 156 which provides public land for an appropriate memorial site for recognizing the service of women in the Armed Forces.

Now, Mrs. Willenz and her book.

BEST COP [illegible] BLE

Ms. **Willenz**. Thank you. May I just add one or two comments to Dr. Cooke's testimony?

There is no better time than now for the Congress to put itself on record in favor of this kind of memorial that would not only honor the living women who served—and there are over a 1¼ million women who have served in the armed services, but also the women who served from the Revolutionary War on. They were on the battle lines. They put their lives on the line. There were casualties. There were women who went all out, supported the efforts of General Washington's Revolutionary Army, and this was repeated in all the wars—in the War of 1812, in the Civil War—where women served all kinds of roles. They were spies, they were couriers.

We know better their roles as nurses.

Senator **Murkowski**. I wonder if you could summarize because we're running way over our allotted time.

Ms. **Willenz**. Thank you very much. I would just hope that it be kept in mind that this is not just the women of one war; it is the women who have served in all the wars, and with the Armed Forces. For example, there were almost 2,000 civilian women in Vietnam. That is not wellknown.

I would like to submit for the record any portion or all of the text of my book on women veterans.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity.

[The prepared statement of the American Veterans Committee follows:]

# STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES ON S.J. RES. 156 TO ESTABLISH A MEMORIAL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO HONOR WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES

October 29, 1985

Mr Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

I am Dr. Paul Cooke. I have been a member of the American Veterans Committee since 1946, and have served as its National Chairman and am presently a member of its National Board. The American Veterans Committee is a national organization of veterans of the United States armed forces who served in World War I, World War II, Korean War and Vietnam War. I myself served in the Army Air Corps during World War II, and am a retired President of the District of Columbia Teachers College.

The American Veterans Committee strongly supports and endorses the enactment of S.J. Res. 156 which would authorize the establishment of a memorial in the District of Columbia, to honor thousands of women who served in the U.S. armed forces. We commend Senators Murkowski and Cranston and the other co-sponsors for introducing S.J. Res. 156 and this Task Force for holding prompt hearings on it.

The American Veterans Committee has throughtout its history supported the advancement of Civil Rights and Equal Rights, and has participated in most important legal battles to achieve equality, for minorities and for women in our society. We endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution and we have supported efforts to advance the opportunities of women to participate in military service with all the rights available to men.

The American Veterans Committee has been particularly concerned about the status of women veterans. They have, until recently, been a "forgotten population" and in many instances had received far less veterans benefits than their service entitled them to receive. During the 1977 hearings of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee on the National Academy of Science Report on the VA Health-care system, we criticized the lack of attention being given to the needs of women veterans. AVC conducted studies on how women veterans were faring vis-a-vis the government benefits program for veterans. Our studies showed that women veterans were not receiving many of the benefits to which they were entitled and that the policy planning for veterans was not considering women veterans as a significant part of the veterans population.

The American Veterans Committee urged that a Women Veterans Advisory Committee be created at the Veterans Administration similar to the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS). When legislation was introduced in 1983 to set up such an Advisory Committee, AVC testified before both the Subcommittee on Health and Hospitals of the House Veterans Affairs Committee (March 3, 1983) and the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee (March 10, 1983). We were delighted when VA Administrator Harry Walters created such a committee shortly thereafter, and Congress made it statutory that November. We feel privileged that AVC's Executive Director, June A. Willenz, was appointed to the new Advisory Committee.

Ms. Willenz, who has been AVC's Executive Director for many years, recently authored a pioneer book: WOMEN VETERANS: AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN HEROINES, reviewing the story of women veterans and their emergence as an important part of the veteran population.

The American Veterans Committee firmly believes that the women who have served our country with and in the armed forces deserve recognition for their sacrifices and their achievements.

Throughout our history, they have contributed to the national defense with dedication and courage whenever called upon, in whatever capacity they were needed, and allowed to serve. Beginning with the "women of the Army" during the Revolutionary War, through all our wars until the present, women have provided major assistance to help preserve the Republic during the wars in which our Nation was engaged.

Women have always been volunteers, ready to step into the breach when needed. They have been active partners with men in forging a nation and in defending it since the War for Independence.

The Army Nurse Corps and then the Navy Nurse Corps were formed in the early 1900's. It was in World War I that women became official members of the Navy and Marines in a non-medical capacity. Over 13,000 women served as Yeomanettes and Women Marines. However, it was in World War II that women were brought into the armed services in substantial numbers to relieve men for combat duty overseas. The WAC's, the WAVES, the Women Marines, the SPAR's, and the WASP's--each of these groups wrote a glorious page in American history with their unselfish service in this period.

The participation of almost 400,000 women in the military services during World War II was a major experiment for the Nation, with long-range consequences for the civilian, as well as the military, sectors of our society. Women's contributions to the war effort, both in and out of uniform, were a significant factor in the outcome and paved the wey for a permanent place for women in the military.

Today, women make up about ten percent of the total military force. They enter and graduate from service academies; they are officers and they hold flag rank. They are pilots, engineers, doctors, radar technicians, mechanics, navigational experts, lawyers, intelligence specialists, deck hands, performing well in almost all the military specialties (except those closed to them because of the combat exclusion policy). Women, like men, are making careers in the military services, and comporting themselves with the highest professional decorum. They have splendid records for performance at many levels. They constitute an integral part of the defense of our nation.

It is time that these facts be known to the public. Until recently, women's contributions were not featured in history texts. Young girls growing up did not read about women who participated so actively in building and preserving the nation (except for an isolated heroine like Molly Pitcher or Lucy Brewer). They did not know that there were such role models for them. Happily, some modern historians have begun to write about women's contributions and are producing a women's perspective in American history that had been previously omitted.

Our daughters and their daughters need to know about women's roles in helping to defend the country in times of crisis. There are examples of heroism, courage, selflessness, resourcefulness, and dedication from these unwritten pages of history that all Americans should be aware of. A national memorial would provide such a focus for women and their families, that would rightly take its place among the other national memorials in Washington, D.C. Such a memorial would satisfy the longing for recognition that has long been denied.

One woman veteran recently wrote to us: "Before I die, I want take my daughter to Washington to see the statue dedicated to American Women Veterans. I am willing to work for that. How do we begin?"

The American Veterans Committee is delighted with the developments that have brought into full daylight the status of women veterans and their contributions to the progress and well-being of the country. Two years ago, at its Spring meeting, AVC's National Board endorsed special projects to further the role of women in military services and their contributions to the national defense, including the establishment of appropriate memorials to honor them. Our organization has reaffirmed this commitment and is studying ways to carry it out. AVC is, therefore, proud to endorse this legislation. We shall cooperate with this Task Force to help establish a memorial to women who have served in the defense of the country. This honor is long overdue--it is one we owe to all women in the past, in the present, and in the future; to all the women who have contributed so much to keep the nation safe and secure.

Thank you for giving the American Veterans Committee this opportunity to present our views on this important matter.

# Book Reviews

## Unsung heroines

*Women Veterans*. By June A. Willenz. New York. The Continuum Publishing Co., 1983. 252 pp. $19.50.

This remarkable book is worth reading on several counts. Among them is the fact that nothing as comprehensive about women veterans exists in print. Also, the military and post-military experiences of these women illustrate that without even knowing it, many were pioneers in redefining women's role in contemporary society.

June A. Willenz decided to write this book after spending 20 years in the veteran's field of study and wondering where the women veterans were and why they were not visible. She discovered that officially there were 1.2 million women veterans as of April 1982 but could find no further Government statistics about them, nor any academic studies. Why is it, she asks, that neither the dedication nor willingness of over a million women to give themselves to their country was included in veterans' literature or official reports?

We are fortunate that Willenz persevered in completing this book, for she does a superb job of pushing aside many myths and stereotypes and providing the reader with solidly based historical material on women's formal and informal participation in U.S. military service since Colonial times. This is followed by richly detailed profiles of individual women who served in the military at some time between the 1940's and 1970's, emphasizing what happened to them when they returned to civilian life. The book concludes with a description of the current situation for women veterans, including their medical, educational, and other benefits, and several governmental policy initiatives.

The chapter devoted to historical background points out that women's official participation in the Armed Forces began with the formation of the Army Nurse Corps in 1901, followed by the Navy Nurse Corps in 1903. Women, however, have had roles *with* the military services, if not *in* the services, since our country was founded. The support services and even more direct roles women provided in the Army and militia units of the Revolutionary War are often overlooked in the literature on that largely guerilla war. George Washington's "Women of the Army" served as nurses and orderlies in his often chaotic hospital system and also did washing, cooking, and mending, frequently riding in baggage wagons much to his consternation. Other women served as water carriers for artillery units, an essential function because after a cannon was fired, it had to be swabbed with water before it was reloaded. It turns out that "Molly Pitcher" was not a single woman, but represented a group of women, much like "GI Joe" represented American soldiers during World War II.

The historical chapter also recounts many equally fascinating events and anecdotes from the War of 1812 and the Civil and Spanish American Wars. World War I is reviewed as the first war in which women were actually recruited into the military services other than the Nurse Corps. While nurses remained the most numerous group in the services, the Navy recruited women to serve as Naval Reserve Yeomen, filling mostly clerical and administrative jobs. Also, a very small number of women served in the Marine Reserve, performing clerical duties and doing some messenger and recruiting work. Willenz contends that one of the by-products of women's World War I military activities was the passage of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920, which gave women the opportunity to vote in national elections.

Less than 25 years later, the outbreak of World War II produced the same need for women's participation in both the civilian and military sectors. What transpired reflects society's view of women at the time. Their entry into military service is described as meeting strong resistance from the War Department, Congress, and society in general. It took from 1941 to 1942 for the bill authorizing the WAAC (Women's Auxiliary Army Corps) to be passed. Recruiters were then faced with the fact that although patriotism was the overwhelming sentiment across the country, there was no great enthusiasm in most families to send their daughters off to war. Recruiters had to promise that new skills and training would be available to those who signed up.

Willenz does well in characterizing the times. "Young women with high school educations were likely to be engaged in routine clerical positions or in unskilled factory jobs. They were easily impressed by the new kinds of experience the services were publicizing. The film industry, meanwhile, was turning out romanticized versions of what war was like, shrouding its realities in Hollywood tinsel." . . . "As was true with many men, there were those who enlisted because of personal trauma, the loss of a loved one, or the breakup of a romance. Certainly the sense of adventure motivated some young women." . . . "Signing up for military service was an acceptable means of going out into the world. It was a permissible way for a woman to spread her wings and contribute to the national purpose." Some women joined because they had special skills, such as nurses, or were older women with professional training and experience, such as writers, broadcasters, public relations workers, teachers, linguists, scientists, and engineers. Most of these latter women became officers, even if they didn't initially enter as officers.

Willenz maintains that World War II was the last one for which patriotism was the dominant reason for going into the military. Neither the Korean nor Vietnam War was popular, and with Vietnam, the disinterest was compounded by the hostility of large segments of the population toward the war. During the 1970's, the All Volunteer Force changed the character of the military services to an occupational model. Since then, Willenz believes that the major attractions for both men and women have been job possibilities and post-service benefits.

A 100-page section of the book, entitled Profiles, consists of the compelling personal stories of women aviators, the mechanically inclined, the adventurers, the ones who sought and got specific training, the dreamers, and the disappointed. Included are interviews with over 20 women veterans whose collective military service spans the years from World War II through the post-Vietnam era. We meet women who extol their participation, while others criticize the racial barriers or are bitter about the indignities of communal living and their often sex-segregated assignments and training. Some allowed their real names to be used, such as Sarah McClendon, currently a Washington journalist. There are stories of "bad apples" in the barracks and of being the object of deeply rooted prejudice against servicewomen, especially in the South. Some women say that they still don't let most people know they are veterans.

In another section of the book, the service-related benefits received by women veterans are described as ranging from very little for the majority of World War II veterans to close to parity for those who served during the Vietnam War or afterwards. Based on her research and interviews, Willenz believes that most women veterans of World War II probably did not use their GI Bill benefits because such a great number married and raised families and had neither the time, energy, nor inclination to use them. This, of course, is all speculation because no data exist on the subject. Willenz states that it seems unlikely that we will ever be able to determine how meaningful the GI Bill was to the World War II servicewomen, "because the Veterans Administration (VA) kept only a 2-percent sampling of information on all veterans. Since women were less than 2 percent of the Armed Forces, they fell by the wayside in VA sampling procedures."

Health and hospital care are described as by far the weakest, most deficient, and for many years, practically undeliverable benefits to which women veterans were entitled. In theory, female veterans were always entitled to the same medical benefits as male veterans; in practice, this entitlement was given short shrift. Willenz points out that from the 1940's through the 1960's, nearly all VA hospitals lacked facilities for women veterans. Moreover, these women were virtually disregarded as outpatients. That the situation has changed somewhat since 1970, especially for post-Vietnam veterans, only became known in 1982 when the VA published the first report in VA history on "Women Veterans Usage of VA Hospital Facilities." (This report was updated by the VA in 1984.)

Willenz sees today's situation as one in which women who served in the Armed Forces are emerging out of a long period of isolation and neglect to achieve legitimacy as veterans. They are becoming visible in the media and are finally being heard by government agencies that are supposed to service them. Policymakers have heard women veterans speak out about the Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Counseling program, exposure to Agent Orange, obtaining spousal and pregnancy benefits, and receiving the same treatment men receive in the VA medical system for nonservice connected health problems. (Most VA medical treatment for male veterans today is for nonservice connected problems.) Also, in contrast to women veterans in the past, who tended to shun general veterans' organizations and to join specific groups like the WAC Veterans or the Women Marines, if they joined at all, those who served during the Vietnam conflict have been joining veterans organizations in sizable numbers.

The book concludes with a warning that the current trend of interest in women veterans will come to nothing unless it is translated into public policy, and a plea that the VA continue its relatively new Advisory Committee on Women Veterans.

—ELIZABETH WALDMAN
Office of Employment and
Unemployment Analysis
Bureau of Labor Statistics

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# The Woman Veteran

## American
## Veterans
## Committee

PAUL P. COOKE

Research Report

# THE WOMAN VETERAN

# THE WOMAN IN UNIFORM

## And the United Nations and Its Organs

By Paul P. Cooke

American Veterans Committee (AVC)

- Member, AVC National Board

  and
- National Chairman, 1963-65

For the World Veterans Federation (WVF)
17th General Assembly in Nice, France
23-26 October 1982

# THE WOMAN VETERAN

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## THE WOMAN VETERAN

## FOREWORD

For many years, with its slogan "Citizens First--Veteran's Second," -- the American Veterans Committee (AVC) has held substantial concern for "The Woman Veteran" and "The Woman in Uniform." Unusual among veterans organizations, AVC has as its Executive Director, June Willenz, woman and mother. Mrs. Willenz has conducted a long and exhaustive study of the problems affecting The Woman Veteran and will present her early findings at the Seventeenth General Assembly of the World Veterans Federation (WVF), meeting in Nice, France, October 23-26, 1982. Mrs. Willenz will ultimately publish her findings in book form.

The Paper that follows will provide for the Willenz Address on the Woman Veteran some insight into the United Nations consideration of the problems of women around the world and attention, or lack thereof, to the The Woman Veteran. Essentially, the United Nations while commendably devoting concern for equal opportunity, freedom and justice, ending of discrimination -- with respect to women -- however has not focused on The Woman Veteran. From appropriate UN sources the following paper indicates findings and offers recommendations. In attending the General Assembly, I am providing Mrs. Willenz a copy of this Paper (and have already given her the basic findings early in October) and am also providing a copy of the Paper to the Secretary General of the World Veterans Federation (WVF), M. Serge Wourgraft.

October 20, 1982

Paul P. Cooke

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N.B. This Foreword has been reprinted (1 November 1982) in order to add this note: The Paper that follows was provided to June Willenz and Segre Wourgraft at the beginning of the WVF Assembly in Nice, France on Saturday, October 23, 1982.

# THE WOMAN VETERAN . . . THE WOMAN IN UNIFORM
# and
# The United Nations

By Paul P. Cooke

The United Nations has not directed its consideration to the subjects of "The Woman Veterans" and "The Woman in Uniform." The UN, whether by means of the General Assembly or the Secretariat or through the International Year or the International Decade of Women -- had not focused on the women as veterans of wars or conflicts or women in armed forces. This paper reviews five publications of the United Nations, 1975-82, for reference to these subjects.

## Findings

The publications, reflecting United Nations work and interests, could be the chief source of information. The publications have been obtained from the United Nations Information Library, 2101 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

In addition to the United Nations publications, the United States Department of State publication GIST, "UN Decade for Women, 1976-1985," June 1979, was also reviewed in context of the subject "The Woman Veterans."

EQUALITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND PEACE -- this subject, or these subjects, are the title for Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. Women as veterans of wars or armed conflicts was not one of the subjects of the Conference, which was held in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1980. Resolutions and decisions include family planning, improving situation of disabled women (which could of course include women disabled in war), migrant women, elderly women, and economic security of handicapped women, and others. Touching on the woman in uniform might be the Resolution, No. 11, "Women's Participation in the Strengthening of International Peace and Freedom and in the Struggle Against Colonialism, Racism, Racial Foreign Aggression, and Occupation and All Forms of Foreign Domination." The Resolution does not focus on The Woman in Uniform or the Woman Veteran.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S STATEMENT. In March of this year, the Secretary General directed to the attention of the Ad Hoc Group on Equal Rights for Women and the Staff Council the work of the United Nations steady efforts to implement in the UN "Equality, Development, and Peace. He did not mention the Woman Veterans. The occasion for his Statement was "International Women's Day."

STATE -- GIST. The U.S. State Department GIST summary of the UN International Decade for Women includes a section "Women's Rights," citing the Secretary's foreign "policy directive" (Secretary Vance, 1979) seeking to improve the status of women throughout the world. US policy did seek an improved status of women in their respective national economies of developing countries and in other areas. No specific reference was made in the Act of Congress in 1973, in the Department's foreign policy directive, in the current GIST, no reference to the woman veteran. General support of women's rights can mean support of the Woman Veteran -- "can" mean that but does not say so.

DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION. The United National General Assembly, this project is essentially a world survey. The Report (prepared in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 35-78 of 5 December 1980) focuses on a number of subjects, substantially lower on the concerns of the International Year of Women and the International Decade of Women. The survey is based on an array of sources. Essentially the major concern is development, including the problems stemming from "limited education . . . poor conditions of employment, which inturn cause poor health, low social status, a high birth rate, and limited education."

In the strong and justifiable emphasis on development of women, the Report and the Survey do not identify The Woman Veterans and The Woman in Uniform. In some respects, there can be no quarrel with either the emphasis or the omission. Still, the following might be noted, as a possible initial step toward later including the agenda the subjects of this paper --

> "No. 9. Attention would also be given to the implication so limited participation by women in political life, in policy formation and planning, and to the fact that most policies are formulated with very little regard to their effect on women."

Finally, this statement should be noted: "Salient issues of importance to women of all ages: human, social and cultural rights, legal status and health."

WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR. In Mexico City, June-July 1975, under the auspices of the United Nations, Conference participants considered a wide array of matters of major concern to women. They did not have a subject The Woman Veteran or The Woman in Uniform. Subjects were "role of women in health," "women in the employ of the UN," "social security and family security for women, including the handicapped," "women's participation in promoting world peace and international co-operation."

## Conclusions from the Findings

The United Nations was and is organized in the quest for peace in the world. Still, in its constitution and assignment of peacekeeping forces, for example, in the no-man's zone between Egypt and Israel after 1974, the UN has had to direct its personal attention to armed conflict -- not simply to preventing and ending armed conflict. Thus, in the emphasis on peace the United Nations has no reason to exclude attention to The Woman Veteran and to The Woman in Uniform.

The United Nations, its chief organs, and the appropriate specialized agencies must have called to their attention the existance of The Woman Veteran and of The Woman in Uniform -- and the need for projects, resolutions, and conference titles on the subjects in conferences and seminars.

The American Veterans Committe (AVC) in its National Board meetings and its Annual Convention can resolve on the matter -- to urge UN consideration of the matter. The United States Council US veterans organizations belonging to the World Veterans Federation (WVF) can also act to urge the UN to action. Finally, the World Veterans Federation, the WVF, can act through its NGO, its Non-Governmental Organization: representative at the United Nations can also act.

In the broad consideration of the rights and role of women, for example, "in particular to insure that women have equal access to political parties, trade unions training, especially in agriculture, cooperatives, credit and local systems, as well as equal opportunities to participate in policy-making in the economic, in commerce and trade, and in the advanced sectors of industry," the UN would include the women who are veterans from armed service for their countries and the women now in uniform -- even though we all oppose war as a means of settling conflict and work for peace.

## THE WOMAN VETERAN

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Senator **Murkowski**. Thank you very much. I want to thank you for your enthusiasm on behalf of your recommendations which the subcommittee certainly shares, and we look forward to moving on this legislation.

Our next witness is Carl Swickerath. Please proceed.

## STATEMENT OF CARL SWICKERATH, SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION, U.S. ARMY; ACCOMPANIED BY COL. LYLE BERNARD

Mr. **Swickerath**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am Charles Swickerath. My associate, Col. Lyle Bernard.

Senator **Murkowski**. Welcome, Colonel Bernard. We're very happy to have you with us at the committee.

Mr. **Swickerath**. We are members of the Society of the 3d Infantry Division, U.S. Army, and serve on its Memorial Committee.

I speak in opposition to the recommendation made by National Park Service, and, on a more positive note, in strong support of S. 1107, which would authorize the construction within the National Capital area of a suitable monument, memorializing 3d infantry dead from two World Wars and Korea.

The memorial would be built at no cost to the Government. Since its founding more than two centuries ago, the United States has maintained its support of the Regular Army, a full-time professional organization, as part of its national defense structure.

This is not to say that the Regular Army has a monopoly on protecting America's cherished freedoms. To the contrary, its proper and historic function has been to provide a solid foundation needed to raise, organize, equip, train and fight, a citizen army defined as cross-section America, which has served the Nation so well throughout history. Along with its airborne, armored, artillery, and other infantry counterparts, the 3d Infantry Division is part of that exclusive community of arms, the Regular Army.

Organized in North Carolina in November 1917, it will, within 3 weeks, begin its 69th year of continuous service to the people of the United States. Its proud record of achievement is outlined as an attachment to my statement. Highlights are:

Participation in six campaigns, World War I, where it stopped a major offensive only 40 miles from Paris, and earned fame as the Rock of the Marne.

Participation in 10 campaigns, World War II, where it was the only infantry division of the United States to fight the enemy on all fronts of the European theater of operations, Casablanca to Berchtesgaden.

Participation in eight campaigns, Korean conflict, where it added new and significantly important honors to an already unparalleled military history.

Between overseas assignments, the 3d Infantry Division has been stationed in seven States. As a Regular Army division, the character of its service is, has been, and will continue to be national in character.

No element of the U.S. Army—Regular, National Guard, Reserve—comes close to matching the 3d Division record. These factors make it unique: 24 campaign credits in three wars; four amphibious operations in World War II; service on four continents; days in combat, 531 in the Second World War alone; 53 Medal of Honor awards; more than 51,000 battle casualties.

The latter become more meaningful when expressed in terms of human suffering and lost lives.

By way of summary, Mr. Chairman, the figure on battle casualties, three wars, is 51,456. The figure on dead, the same base, 9,216.

In our view, all war dead deserve memorialization. Each death represents a debit entry in a ledger accounting of the cost of protecting America and preserving American freedom. Unlike the National Guard and Reserve components, elements of the Regular Army, 3d Infantry Division included, lack a State or regional base appropriate for honoring its war dead.

A necessary, and we think correct, recognition of this fact is already seen in the National Capital Area. Three units of the Regular Army—the 1st Infantry Division, 2d Infantry Division, 101st Airborne Division—have long been permitted to honor their war dead by impressive memorials sited within this area. We seek the same privilege for 3d Infantry Division dead. In equity, they deserve no less.

In this beautiful Capital city and its environs stand many noble monuments to great men and stirring events in our country's history. Our proposal to honor former comrades who sacrificed life in defense of America will not materially change this inventory. That lonely kind of courage, in the words of a distinguished 19th century psychologist and philosopher, William James, "is the kind of valor to which the monuments of nations should most of all be reared."

A copy of my statement has been offered to the record. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Swickerath follows:]

Thank you.

Gentlemen, I am CARL SWICKERATH. My associate~~s are~~ is COL LYLE W. BERNARD.

We are members of the Society of the 3d Infantry Division, U.S. Army, and serve on its Memorial Committee. I speak in support of pending legislation, S. 1107 and H.R. 2440, to authorize the construction, within the National Capital Area, of a suitable monument memorializing 3d Infantry Division dead from both World Wars and Korea. The memorial would be built at no cost to the Government.

Since its founding, more than two centuries ago, the United States has maintained and supported the Regular Army -- a full-time, professional organization -- as part of its national defense structure. This is not to say that the Regular Army has a monopoly on protecting America's cherished freedoms. To the contrary, its proper and historic function has been to provide the solid foundation needed to raise, organize, equip, train and fight a citizen army, defined as a cross-section of America, which has served the Nation so well throughout history.

Along with its airborne, armored, artillery and other infantry counterparts, 3d Infantry Division is a part of that exclusive community of arms: The Regular Army.

Organised in North Carolina in November 1917, 3d Infantry Division is just 2½-weeks away from beginning its sixty-ninth year of continuous service to the people of the United States of America.

Its proud record of achievement is outlined as an attachment to my statement. Highlights are:

- Participation in six campaigns, WW-1, where it stopped a major enemy offensive only forty miles from Paris and earned fame as "The Rock Of The Marne."
- Participation in ten campaigns, WW-2, where it was the only U.S. infantry division to fight the enemy on all fronts of the European Theater of Operations, Casablanca to Berchtesgaden.
- Participation in eight campaigns, Korean Conflict, where it added new and significantly important honors to an already unparalleled military history.
- Continuous service in West Germany, 1957 onward, at the cutting edge of The NATO Shield.

Between overseas assignments, 3d Infantry Division was stationed, for brief periods of time, in these states: North Carolina, Arkansas, Washington, California, Virginia, Kentucky and Georgia. Although a part of its history, no state or group of states can claim the 3d as its own. As a Regular Army division, the character of its service has been, and continues to be, national.

No element of U.S. Army -- Regular, National Guard, Reserve -- comes close to matching the 3d Infantry Division record. These factors make it unique: Twenty-four campaign credits in three wars, four WW-2 amphibious operations (North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Southern France), service on four continents, days in combat (531 in WW-2 alone), miles gained against enemy opposition, fifty-three Medal of Honor awards, more than 51,000 battle casualties. The latter become more meaningful when expressed in terms of human suffering and lost lives.

| | Battle Casualties | Dead |
|---|---|---|
| World War I | 15,401 | 2,637 |
| World War II | 25,977 | 4,922 |
| Korean Conflict | 10,078 | 1,657 |

This record, spanning almost seven decades, is truly remarkable. Measured against any standard of comparison, it sets 3d Infantry Division apart from, and above, other units of U.S. Army.

In our view, all war-dead deserve memorialization. Each death represents a debit entry in a ledger-accounting of the cost of protecting America and American freedoms.

Unlike National Guard and Reserve components, all elements of the Regular Army, 3d Infantry Division included, lack either a state or regional base appropriate for honoring its war-dead.

A necessary, and we think correct, recognition of this fact has already been taken. Three units of Regular Army -- 1st Infantry Division, 2d Infantry Division, 101st Airborne Division -- have long been permitted to honor their war-dead by impressive memorials sited within the National Capital Area. We seek this same privilege for 3d Infantry Division dead. In equity, they deserve no less.

In this beautiful Capital City and its environs stand many noble monuments to great men and stirring events in our country's history. Our proposal to honor former comrades who sacrificed life in defense of America will not materially change this inventory. "That lonely kind of courage," in words of the distinguished 19th Century psychologist and philosopher William James, "is the kind of valor to which the monuments of nations should most of all be reared."

A copy of my statement is offered for the record. .

Thank you.

## 3d INFANTRY DIVISION, U.S. AR..

CREDITS

World War I : 27 May 1918 - 11 November 1918

Campaigns : Aisne
Champagne-Marne
Champagne
Aisne-Marne
St. Mihiel
Meuse-Argonne

Killed in action : 2,637
Wounded in action: 12,764
Died of wounds : 764

Overseas : April 1918 - August 1919*

Medal of Honor awards : 2

World War II : 8 November 1942 - 8 May 1945

Campaigns : Algeria - French Morocco
Tunisia
Sicily
Naples-Foggia
Anzio
Rome-Arno
Southern France
Rhineland
Ardennes-Alsace
Central Europe

Killed in action : 4,922
Wounded in action: 18,766
Missing in action: 2,729
Died of wounds : 636

Battle Casualties : 25,977
Non-Battle Casualties : 46,506

Overseas : November 1942 - September 1946*

Medal of Honor awards : 40

Korea : 3 November 1950 - 27 July 1953

Campaigns : CCF Intervention
First UN Counteroffensive
CCF Spring Offensive
UN Summer-Fall Offensive
Second Korean Winter
Korea Summer-Fall, 1952
Third Korean Winter
Korea Summer, 1953

Killed in action : 1,657
Wounded in action: 7,939
Died of wounds : 186

Overseas : September 1950 - October 1954

Medal of Honor awards : 11

West Germany : NATO, 1957-Present

* Includes Army of Occupation duty

Senator **MURKOWSKI**. Thank you very much. We are most appreciative of your statement and the eloquence with which it was delivered.

The group that you represent, the 3d Infantry and its very historic contribution to our freedoms is one that I think was very necessary for the subcommittee to have, and as a consequence you and your colleague's testimony is greatly appreciated.

Mr. **SWICKERATH**. May I add one other point, sir, very briefly?

We hold that the position of the National Park Service, as stated in your record earlier this morning, is flawed in several respects. It is not my purpose to tell the Department of the Interior what to do. I would like to believe, however, that they could profit by being reminded of the sentiment expressed in the quote that I made.

The simple fact is that their figures are flawed. In one instance in the Federal record—or the Federal Register, excuse me—April 1, 1985, they speak of a potential of 498 monuments. The testimony this morning was 150 monuments. Both figures cannot be correct.

On a similar vein, it seems to me that we share the desire for a beautiful National Capital City, and I think that erection of suitable monuments adds to that record, not detracts from it.

Thank you, sir.

Senator **MURKOWSKI**. Thank you very much.

We appreciate, lady and gentlemen, the testimony which you've given. I would excuse the panel. We wish you a good day.

Our last witness apparently, one of our colleagues from the State of Tennessee, The Honorable Senator Albert Gore, Jr., and we look forward to your testimony. We have had a very interesting and informative hearing, some 23 witnesses, and have covered a good deal of recommendations concerning the pending bills before us. We look forward to your testimony, Senator, and would be happy to include anything you would care to insert in the record.

## STATEMENT OF HON. ALBERT A. GORE, JR., A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

Senator **GORE**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I will take advantage of your kind invitation and insert most of my remarks in the record.

Senator **MURKOWSKI**. It will be entered into the record.

Senator **GORE**. Let me briefly summarize my purpose for coming here. I introduced, earlier this year, S.J. Res. 143, about which you have already heard some testimony. I had hoped to be here in the presence of other witnesses testifying about this resolution, but business pending before the rules committee on which I serve prevented me from being here earlier.

Suffice it to say, however, I strongly support this resolution and urge your favorable consideration of it. Americans owe a debt of gratitude to the brave men and women of the Revolution who helped win our treasured independence and freedom.

However, few of us know that among these persons were more than 5,000 free blacks and slaves whose descendants undoubtedly number in the tens of thousands.

Last year, Congress acknowledged these contributions by passing a bill to honor black Revolutionary War patriots, Public Law 98-

245. Last May, I had the honor of introducing S.J. Res. 143, which is being considered by the subcommittee today, to authorize the establishment of a memorial in Washington's Constitution Gardens to commemorate these heroes.

The companion bill, H.J. Res. 142, has already cleared committee in the other body and is due to reach the House floor next week. As it is expected to pass the House with overwhelming support—and indeed it should--I would urge that the members of this committee consider expediting passage of this important measure.

This monument will require no Federal funding. Its construction would be paid for entirely by private and corporate contributions.

Just as Ralph Ellison wrote of the Invisible Man, these 5,000 persons who served so bravely in the American Revolution could be regarded as invisible heroes. Fortunately, a number of historians have since taken up the task of chronicling their part in American independence, but writing the chapter is only the first step. It must be read and understood if it is to take on fresh life and meaning.

We owe it to ourselves to study and appreciate the full picture of our past. And I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to speak here today. And, in conclusion, I again strongly urge the expeditious consideration and passage of S.J. Res. 143.

[The prepared statement of Senator Gore follows:]

# STATEMENT OF
# THE HONORABLE ALBERT GORE, JR.

BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCES CONSERVATION
OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

OCTOBER 29, 1985

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to be with you here today to celebrate the significant achievments of our black Revolutionary War Heroes.

Americans owe a debt of gratitude to the brave men and women of the Revolution who helped win our treasured independence and freedom. However,few of us know that among these persons were more than 5,000 free blacks and slaves whose descendants undoubtedly number in the tens of thousands. Last year, Congress acknowledged these contributions by passing a bill to honor black Revolutionary War patriots, P.L. 98-245.

On May 24, 1985, I had the honor of introducing S.J. Res. 143, the bill your subcommittee is considering today. S.J. Res 143 would authorize the establishment of a memorial in Washington's Constitutional Gardens to commemorate these heroes. The companion bill, H.J. Res. 142 has already cleared committee and is due to reach the House floor next week. As it is expected to pass the House with overwhelming support, and indeed it should, I would urge that the members of this committee not delay in the passage of this important measure.

The passage of this legislation will represent a positive step toward unifying all Americans as a people of a common heritage and a proud past. Numerous organizations have expressed support for this memorial including the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, Prince Hall Masons (founded by a black Revolutionary War patriot), National Education Association, NAACP, Vietnam Veterans of America, AFL-CIO, the American Jewish Congress, and the National Black Caucus of State Legislators.

This monument will require no federal funding; it's construction will be paid for entirely by private and corporate contributions.

Perhaps, then, the more basic question that we should ask ourselves today is why should this monument be built? Indeed, why do we build monuments at all? We build them for the living; not for the dead. We build them for the present generation and the children of the future. We build them in hopes that the significant contributions of those who went before us will help us to better understand ourselves and to instill in us a sense of pride and history.

And American history has been sadly deficient in highlighting the significant role which blacks have played in shaping the development of our nation.

Just as Ralph Ellison wrote of the "Invisible Man" these 5,000 persons who served bravely in the American Revolution may be regarded as the "invisible heroes". Fortunately, a number of historians have since taken up the task of chronicling their part in American independence. But writing the chapter is only the first step. It must be read and understood if it is to take on fresh life and meaning. We owe it to ourselves to study and appreciate the full picture of our past. This visible reminder of black courage will help to fill in a missing piece of the puzzle. And that is why this monument is so important.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to speak before your subcommittee today. I strongly urge the expeditious consideration and passage of this resolution.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you very much, Senator Gore, for your testimony and your recommendations, and we very much value those specific points and we will review in detail your entire statement as the subcommitee reflects on the legislation before us.

We wish you a good day.

Senator GORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURKOWSKI. I want to thank those who saw fit to be with us throughout the hearing, and I think you will all agree that it was a worthwhile effort.

I want to thank professional staff, Mr. Tony Bevinetto who, more often than not, works other areas having to do with resource management, but I think the reflection on the human resource of those who have gone before us is significant, certainly thought-provoking, on the obligation which we have as Members of Congress to reflect on fitting memorials to those individuals who have given the supreme sacrifice.

I would wish you all a good day. The hearing record will remain open for a period of 2 weeks. Thank you very much. The subcommittee hearing is concluded.

[Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

# APPENDIX

## ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Jeff Bingaman

### KOREAN WAR VETERANS MEMORIAL

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR JEFF BINGAMAN

Before the
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water
and Resource Conservation
of the
Senate Energy Committee

October 29, 1985

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Mr. Chairman, let me say how much I appreciate your leadership in agreeing to hold this hearing today on legislation to authorize various memorials and monuments in the District of Columbia.

I am particularly interested in the legislation to authorize a memorial to Korean War veterans. Of all of our war veterans, Korean veterans are perhaps the single group not commemorated by a memorial in the nation's capitol. Such an honor is long over due and I support it without hesitation.

I am pleased to say that I am a strong supporter and cosponsor of one of the bills under consideration, S. 1223 by Senator Armstrong. It is similar to a bill introduced last Congress by Senator Boschwitz, which I also cosponsored. Recently, another bill S.J.Res. 184, by Senator Denton, which is also under consideration today, was introduced. While it has a somewhat different approach from S. 1223, it, too, recognizes the need to memorialize our Korean War veterans.

I hope that the committee will take action to make the goal of a Korean War Memorial a reality. I am confident that the differences in these bills can be resolved so that we can begin construction of the Korean War Veterans Memorial as soon as possible.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for holding this hearing today. I stand ready to assist you in your efforts.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER IV
WEST VIRGINIA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

October 29, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
The Honorable Dale Bumpers, Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water
and Resource Conservation
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
308 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Malcolm and Dale,

Thank you for scheduling today's hearing on several bills proposing to authorize the construction of memorials. As a fellow member of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, and as a member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I have an interest in the individual memorials and the important aspects of America's history they would honor.

I am writing to express my hope that you support S.J. Res. 143, which would authorize the establishment of a memorial to Black Revolutionary War Patriots. I am sure that you have received ample testimony and information about the merits of this measure. The proponents aim to tap the full potential of the memorial by planning to educate Americans on the contributions of blacks in the Revolutionary era and promote improved relations between all races.

The individuals and organizations advocating the Black Revolutionary War Patriots' Memorial have done an exemplary job at developing this proposal and mobilizing interest and financial support to carry it out. The broad-based coalition represented by the Black Revolutionary War Patriots' Foundation is testimony in itself to the benefits that stem from focusing on the sacrifices and patriotic deeds of black Americans on behalf of our Nation. I commend you for giving consideration to this proposal and the other legislation seeking new memorials.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Jay

John D. Rockefeller IV

## STATEMENT OF SENATOR SAM NUNN

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS,
RESERVED WATER & RESOURCE CONSERVATION

OCTOBER 29, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S CONSIDERATION OF THIS BILL WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE THE SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION TO ERECT A MEMORIAL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS TO HONOR THE SOCIETY'S WAR DEAD.

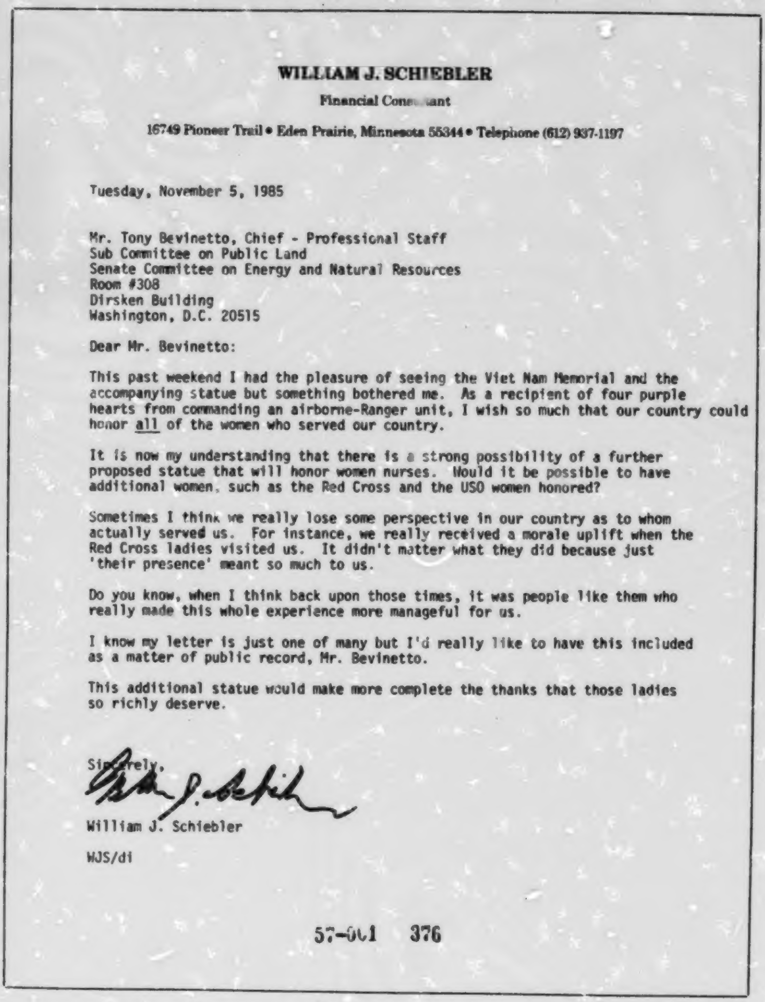
I WAS PLEASED TO INTRODUCE THIS LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD HONOR A MOST DESERVING UNIT WHICH WAS ORGANIZED ON NOVEMBER 21, 1917, AND ARRIVED IN FRANCE IN APRIL 1918. IN JULY OF THAT YEAR ON THE MARNE RIVER THE DIVISION WON ITS NICKNAME, "ROCK OF THE MARNE," BY HOLDING A 12 KILOMETER LINE AGAINST HEAVY GERMAN ATTACKS. DURING WORLD WAR I THE DIVISION WON SIX BATTLE STREAMERS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN MAY 1942, THE DIVISION ENTERED WORLD WAR II. THE DIVISION WAS AWARDED THE PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATION AND THE FRENCH CROIX DE GUERRE WITH PALM FOR ITS ACTIONS CLEARING THE COLMAR POCKET. IN ALL, THE DIVISION IS CREDITED WITH 10 CAMPAIGNS FOR WORLD WAR II SERVICE.

THE "ROCK OF THE MARNE" ARRIVED IN KOREA IN NOVEMBER 1950, WAS ENGAGED IN EIGHT MORE CAMPAIGNS, AND WAS AWARDED TWO REPUBLIC OF KOREA PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATIONS. THE DIVISION WAS REORGANIZED AS MECHANIZED INFANTRY IN 1963 AND IS NOW STATIONED IN WUERZBURG, WEST GERMANY, WHERE IT SERVES AS A PART OF THE FRONT-LINE SHIELD OF NATO.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MY BILL WOULD GIVE THE SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION THE NECESSARY CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL TO BEGIN THE PROCEDURE FOR ERECTING A MEMORIAL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS. THE MEMORIAL WOULD BE ERECTED AT NO COST TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS AND THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION, WOULD SELECT A SUITABLE SITE AND APPROVE THE DESIGN AND PLANS FOR SUCH A MEMORIAL.

MR. CHAIRMAN, SIMILAR MEMORIALS HONORING OTHER DESERVING UNITS OF THE ARMED FORCES ALREADY EXIST IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AND I URGE YOUR FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION OF THIS BILL WHICH WOULD GRANT CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY FOR THE SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION TO PROCEED WITH A MEMORIAL HONORING THEIR FALLEN COMRADES.



**WILLIAM J. SCHIEBLER**
Financial Consultant
16749 Pioneer Trail • Eden Prairie, Minnesota 55344 • Telephone (612) 937-1197

Tuesday, November 5, 1985

Mr. Tony Bevinetto, Chief - Professional Staff
Sub Committee on Public Land
Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
Room #308
Dirsken Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Bevinetto:

This past weekend I had the pleasure of seeing the Viet Nam Memorial and the accompanying statue but something bothered me. As a recipient of four purple hearts from commanding an airborne-Ranger unit, I wish so much that our country could honor all of the women who served our country.

It is now my understanding that there is a strong possibility of a further proposed statue that will honor women nurses. Would it be possible to have additional women, such as the Red Cross and the USO women honored?

Sometimes I think we really lose some perspective in our country as to whom actually served us. For instance, we really received a morale uplift when the Red Cross ladies visited us. It didn't matter what they did because just 'their presence' meant so much to us.

Do you know, when I think back upon those times, it was people like them who really made this whole experience more manageful for us.

I know my letter is just one of many but I'd really like to have this included as a matter of public record, Mr. Bevinetto.

This additional statue would make more complete the thanks that those ladies so richly deserve.

Sincerely,

William J. Schiebler

WJS/di

**The Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc.**

Co-Chairs: Diane Carlson Evans (715/425-1464); Donna-Marie Boulay (612/338-5140); Dean Stephen B. Young

October 30, 1985

Hon Malcome Wallop, Chair
Subcommittee On Public Lands,
Reserved Water & Resource Conservation
Senator Dirksen Bldg, # 308
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Senator Wallop:

We are writing to ask your support for SJ Res 156 which will authorize a memorial for all women who served in or for the Armed Forces. We testified in May before Rep. Oakar in support of its companion bill HJ Res 36.

Women have always been a part of the community that has served its country honorably but they have been overlooked in our country's monuments. In the tradition of Betsy Ross and Molly Pitcher American women have served their country with their unique skills. Women have always volunteered never having been subjected to the draft. It is time America acknowledges these patriots in her monuments. Therefore we strongly urge you to support SJ Res 156.

Thank you for your assistance. The undersigned served their country in Vietnam.

Diane Carlson, RN

Diane Carlson

Donna-Marie Boulay, RN JD

D.M. Boulay

Stephen B. Young, Dean

S.B. Young

6483M-M

511 Eleventh Avenue South, Box 45, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415 Telephone 612/338-4959

8405 Golden Aspen Court
Springfield, VA 22153
1985 NOV 14 10 09
November 11, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water
and Resource Conservation
U.S. Senate
Room 308 Dirksen Bldg.
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

I would appreciate having my statement made part of the record on S.J. Res. 156. Although it specifically relates to Red Cross workers in Vietnam, thousands of others have served in all our wars since 1881.

Over 200 Red Cross nurses died in World War I, 29 Red Cross women died in World War II, and 3 in Vietnam. There are extraordinary stories of the work, hardship and heroism of civilian women in all wars. I sincerely hope the proposed memorial will make it possible for all Americans to hear them.

Sincerely,

Margaret G. Hodge

Margaret G. Hodge

I am a former Red Cross employee who served in the Supplemental Recreational Activities Overseas (SRAO) program (also referred to as the Clubmobile Program) in Vietnam. Women's service to their country is regularly overlooked by the media, and I believe it is time for women, and men, who have served their country to unite and use the occasion offered here to provide the general public with the truth about women's contributions to our military efforts in times of both war and peace. My statement relates to women who served in Vietnam with the American Red Cross; however, I also wish to call to your attention other women who served in Vietnam in support of the military, including Department of the Army civilians, U.S.O., and U.S.AID employees.

S.J. Res.156 indicates that the memorial is "to honor women who have served in the armed forces of the United States," and I am concerned that thousands of women who have voluntarily served the military through the American Red Cross will be overlooked. The American Red Cross is chartered by Congress to "act in matters of voluntary relief and in accord with the military authorities as a medium of communication between the people of the United States of America and the Armed Forces." Since 1881, women have been able to provide direct, humanitarian support to the armed forces by working or volunteering for the Red Cross. The Red Cross alternative has provided women whose personal circumstances did not permit them to enlist, an opportunity to support our soldiers, aid and comfort the wounded, and console the families of the dead. This is not to suggest veterans status for civilian women, but rather to suggest that these women are veterans of our wars and that it is time to recognize their contributions.

There are 1,120 Red Cross women who served in Vietnam. Of these, 627 served in the SRAO (Clubmobile) Program. Others served in the military hospitals providing emergency communications to families of the wounded and ill, social services, and recreation programs for those able to take part. Some women also worked as Field Directors at base camps.

At the same time, Department of Defense figures indicate that a total of 7,465 military women were stationed in Vietnam. Of these, 1,215 were nonmedical personnel. Female Vietnam era veterans total 262,400. Therefore, females in the military probably had less than a three percent chance of serving a tour in Vietnam. (Much less than that if they were not nurses.) Civilian women who qualified and wanted to serve in Vietnam had no problem in doing so through the American Red Cross.

The Red Cross Clubmobile Program was designed to provide recreation programs to troops in areas too isolated to have access to the usual military recreation facilities. We went to Vietnam at the request of General Westmoreland and under an agreement between the Department of Defense and the American Red Cross. The Military Assistance Command Directive concerning Red Cross states:

> The American National Red Cross is accompanying the US Armed Forces in the RVN to carry out activities supplementing, and otherwise assisting the US Armed Forces in programs relating to the health, welfare, recreation, and morale of military personnel....
>
> 1. American National Red Cross Recreation Centers substitute for U.S. Military Service Clubs/Recreation Centers pending establishment of these facilities in locations served by American National Red Cross Centers.

> 2. The Clubmobile Program is a mobile service which extends the recreation program to military personnel in any location in the RVN to which the military authorizes travel and provides transportation. Priority is given to combat and combat support units in isolated areas. (MACV Directive 930-1, June 14, 1970, emphasis added.))

We developed portable programs, generally based on TV quiz shows, and we went to the field -- by jeep, truck, helicopter and plane, we traveled wherever mililtary commanders requested us to. We went to fire bases, landing zones, field hospitals, and any forward position considered secure by the commander. We were not without risk, however. The base camps where we were assigned were mortared, the helicopters and planes sometimes fired upon, and some of the areas we visited had been sprayed with Agent Orange. Fortunately, only one of the 627 women in SRAO was wounded, but others are worried about delayed stress and their exposure to Agent Orange. Three of our group died in Vietnam of non-combat causes. (To my knowledge, at least 3 other civilian women died in Vietnam. One was a former Red Cross worker who had returned to Vietnam and was killed in a plane crash while helping evacuate Amerasian children during the fall of Saigon.)

Commanders sometimes told their troops that they would know they had done a good job when the Red Cross "girls" arrived. We went to areas that had only been taken a day or two before, talked to men who had just lost their comrades, and tried to let them know we cared. We handed out cards, stationery, and puzzles, startled men coming into mess tents by serving their meals, and diverted their minds with with games and trivia questions. It was not unusual for a team of 2 to report serving 500-1,000 troops a day. One veteran told me that, although he saw Vietnamese women in the villages and fields while on operations, he did not really relax and feel he was in a safe area until he saw American Red Cross women smiling and waving as they came to visit.

Upon the completion of a one year tour, we were awarded the Medal for Civilian Service in Vietnam. In a Certificate of Appreciation sent to American Red Cross President George M. Elsey when the program ended, General Creighton W. Abrams, Commanding General, U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, wrote:

> The young women who were the core of this program's success contributed materially to the improvement of the morale of servicemen assigned to Vietnam. Their personal dedication and attitude reflected favorably on the American Red Cross and assisted the commander in the field in the accomplishment of his mission. (American Red Cross Press Release, May 26, 1972. (emphasis added))

I believe there would be tremendous support for the proposed memorial among Red Cross women who served in Vietnam, should it include recognition of the fact that they, too, have served their country. The process of raising funds and dedicating the memorial provides an excellent opportunity for all women veterans to come together and work together.

Fifty eight SRAO'ers were here last fall for the dedication of the statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. We were especially gratified to hear the veterans say thank you, and it renewed our pride in having served them. My wish is that all women who have served their country have such an opportunity.

## AMERICAN RED CROSS - SRAO DATA SHEET

LOCATION OF RECREATION CENTERS AND CLUBMOBILE PROGRAMS - March, 1969

101st Airborne Division - Camp Eagle

1st Marine Division - Danang

Americal Division - Chu Lai

U.S. Army Support Command - Qui Nhon

173rd Airborne Support Bn. - An Khe

Pleiku Sub Area Command - Pleiku

4th Infantry Division - Camp Enari

Tuy Hoa Air Base

Nha Trang

Cam Ranh Air Base

Cam Ranh Bay Army

Phan Rang Air Base

II Field Force - Long Binh

20th Engineers - Bien Hoa

1st Infantry Division - Lai Khe

25th Infantry Division - Cu Chi

9th Infantry Division - Dong Tam

In 1967-1968, the peak year of the program, a monthly average of 280,500 servicemen took part in Red Cross recreation activities. The clubmobile teams traveled an average of 27,100 miles each month.

627 women served
  3 died
  1 was wounded

Frances Hoffmeier
4041 Medical Drive #1702
San Antonio, Texas 78229

November 12, 1985

Tony Bevinetto
Chief Professional Staff
Sub-committee on Public Lands, Reserved Water
  and Resource Conservation
Senate Committee on Energy & natural Resources
Room 308 Dirksen Bldg.
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Bevinetto:

As First Vice President of The American Overseas Association, comprised of Red Cross workers who served with the Armed Forces overseas in all Wars commencing with World War One, I wish to lend my support of S.J. Res. 156.

I request that my letter be made a part of the record of the October 29, 1985 hearing.

Respectfully,

Frances Hoffmeier

Frances Hoffmeier
4041 Medical Drive #1702
San Antonio, Texas 78229

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20330-5190

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8 NOV 1985

Honorable Malcolm Wallop
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands,
Reserved Water and Resource Conservation
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
United States Senate
Washington DC 20510-0001

Dear Senator Wallop

I understand that your subcommittee will soon be considering S.J. Res. 156, joint resolution "To authorize the establishment of a memorial to women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States." This is companion legislation to H.J. Res. 36 in support of which I testified before the Committee on the Administration's Task Force on Libraries and Memorials on May 20, 1985. I am providing a copy of that statement for your information and, on behalf of the Department of the Air Force, request your support of S.J. Res. 156.

Sincerely

Sandra J Perry

**SANDRA J. PERRY, Colonel, USAF**
**Director of Plans, Policy, and Programming**
**ACS/Information Systems**

1 Atch
Committee Presentation
Paper, May 20, 1985

cc: Task Force on
Libraries and Memorials

# DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

PRESENTATION TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S TASK FORCE
ON LIBRARIES AND MEMORIALS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

H. J. RES. 36, A BILL "TO AUTHORIZE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MEMORIAL TO WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES"

COLONEL SANDRA PERRY
DIRECTORATE OF PLANS AND PROGRAMS
DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

MAY 20, 1985

NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL RELEASED
BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S
TASK FORCE ON LIBRARIES AND MEMORIALS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## OPENING STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, it is my honor to be here today to represent the United States Air Force.

The Air Force supports a memorial to honor women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States. American women of every race, class, and ethnic background have made historical contributions to the growth and strength of our Nation in countless recorded and unrecorded ways. They have served as leaders in the forefront of every major progressive social change movement, not only to secure their own right of suffrage and equal opportunity, but also in the abolitionist movement, the emancipation movement, the industrial labor movement, and other movements to create a more fair and just society for all.

There are more than 1,150,000 female veterans in this country. This represents 4.1 percent of all veterans in civilian life. Female veterans under 35 years old make up 28 percent of all female veterans, whereas the corresponding share for male veterans is only 16 percent. Twenty percent are at least 65 years of age, a share noticeably larger than that of male veterans (14 percent). The total number of female veterans in civilian life is expected to increase slowly but steadily through the next several decades.

Women have served in all capacities within the Air Force. They ranged from nurses in the field to pilots. There is probably no other women's service group in World War II that was as unique or daring as the Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs). Eleven hundred women pilots ferried planes for the Army Air Force but did not become veterans because they were not militarized. The WASPs battled for over thirty years before achieving veterans status. Today the active duty Air Force has a total of 67,673 women which represents 11.2 percent of the total force. Three hundred eighty two women have graduated from undergraduate flying training. Additionally, there are 11,778 (16.7%) women in the Air Force Reserve, and 11,647 (10.9%) women in the Air National Guard.

Any memorial should be inclusive and representative of all women from all wars. Also, women who served in other areas such as the American Red Cross, Special Services, United Service Organization, Women's Overseas Service League and others should be acknowledged in some way. The contributions and sacrifice of women in behalf of this nation deserve public recognition and appreciation. We endorse wholeheartedly a memorial to honor the same.

11804 Seven Locks Road
Potomac, Maryland 20854
22 November 1985

85 NOV 3 AM 9 36

MALCOLM WALLOP, CHAIRMAN
SUB-COMMITTEE on PUBLIC LANDS
RESERVE WATER & RESOURCE CONSERVATION
ROOM SD -308
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

RE: BILL HR 36 Submitted by Congresswoman
Mary Rose O' Kar of Ohio- For the
establishment of a Memorial to
honor "MILITARY WOMEN".

Dear Sir:

The Army Reorganization Act of 2 February 1901 established the Nurse Corp (female) as a permanent corps of the Medical Department ( 31 Stat. 753). Members of the Corp were not given military rank. The relative rank of officers was granted in 1920 as an aftermath of the WORLD WAR I service of 21,480 Army Nurses. The women of the Army Nurse Corp were granted temporary commissions in the Army of the UNITED STATES in June of 1944 and actual commission in 194[illegible].

Qualifications of these women required that they be a graduate of an accredited School of Nursing, age 21, United States Citizen, and be a Registered Nurse in one of the United States. These patriotic and loyal women volunteered their services ,leaving behind their loved ones as did the men who were conscripted, to provide the necessary nursing care requird for the wounded soldier's recovery. These women, members of the Army Nurse Corp, sacrificed their families ,went overseas, dodged the artillery , lived in primitive atmosphere, and coped withsub-standard conditions during the period of war. Initial phases of the war required these dedicated women to function professionally whether it was land, sea or air duty to provide a quality nursing care to the wounded soldier who was on route from the battle field to the Zone of the Interior. Their dedication was not measured by an eight hour day , nor a definition of duties.

Along side of the Army Nurse Corp were the members of the Quasi Organization, Red Cross who provided services to minimize the numerous emotional problems to include personal problems of the soldier and his family. The Navy Nurse Corp and the Women's Army Corp entered the overseas area of conbat at a later date.

In conclusion, I am in favor of the passage of the bill since the aforementioned dedicated women were in service sacrificing their lives when discrimination was a word not an abuse. Our Creator gave men their duty to do , and to women that required their touch. Consequently, there will be men and women to do their respective jobs: therefore, honoring the Military Women with a Memorial shows respect not discrimination and greed.

Sincerely Yours,
Emma M. Doboy Col., Ret.
A.N.C.,A.U.S.
1942-1980

TESTIMONY

of the

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION

before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
U.S. SENATE

on

S.J. RES. 156, WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES MEMORIAL

OCTOBER 29, 1985

The American Nurses' Association (ANA), representing 185,000 registered nurses through 50 state nurses' associations, appreciates the opportunity to present our views on S.J. Res. 156 which authorizes the establishment of a memorial in the District of Columbia to honor the women who have served in the armed forces of our country. ANA strongly supports the enactment of S.J. Res. 156.

The Department of the Interior has recommended that S.J. Res. 156 not be enacted "because S.J. Res. 156 is not consistent with the policy on military memorials adopted by the Secretary's [National Capital Memorial] Advisory Committee, in that all members of the armed forces are not included in the proposed commemoration, and because the measure would duplicate the commemorative effect of two memorials [Navy and Vietnam] already authorized." ANA strongly disagrees with the Department 's statement that S.J. Res. 156 is not consistent with the Advisory Committee's policy on military memorials. While ANA agrees that future military memorials should commemorate all members of the armed forces, this does not diminish our concern that military memorials erected in the past, which are statues, do not specifically portray women. Although women have served in or with the armed services for years, the physical representation of a woman has not historically been included in military memorials. That is why ANA is supportive of a general memorial to honor the thousands of women who have served in or with the armed services for decades.

In addition, while the names of both men and women who dies in Vietnam are etched into "The Wall", only male Vietnam veterans are represented in the bronze statute, which depicts three men and no women. This resolution would not duplicate the commemorative effect of the existing Vietnam memorials but would rather be consistent with the Advisory Committee's policy by finally commemorating all those who served in Vietnam, both men and women.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The American Nurses' Association has a particular interest in the establishment of such memorials as you can well imagine. Nurses have served in the military from the earliest days of our republic - and even before the republic was born out of the American Revolution.

Between 1775 and 1777, the Colonial Congress adopted legislation which would establish army hospitals. Included in that legislation were provisions for a set number of "nurses" proportionate to the number of sick and wounded. The first reference to the employment of nurses in military hospitals in the United States can be found in Continental Hospital Returns, documents dating back to 1777; they list the names of hospitalized soldiers and also the names of women who cared for the sick and wounded.

These early "nurses" lacked formal training as the attitude in those days was that nurses were born not trained. However, those women served a distinct and valuable function. They kept the sick and wounded clean and fed and as comfortable as possible. Thus the spread of disease and the frequency of infection were kept at a lower level than might otherwise have been the case.

It is estimated that 2,000 women undertook nursing duties during the Civil War for the North and the South. Dorothea Lynde Dix, a well-known crusader for psychiatric care, was appointed Superintendent of Women Nurses by the Secretary of War. She had the responsibility to recruit and equip a corps of army nurses and she succeeded in developing and having the army adopt the first regulations governing who could be nurses.

By the time of World War I, of course, the nursing profession was well established. That war gave an impetus to the women's movement. An old saying was given a new twist: "A woman's place is in the war." Women were encouraged to enter the armed forces. Some 216,000 women joined Army, Navy, Marines and Coast Guard. For the first time in history a group of carefully selected nurses was available for military service.

More that 25 percent (24,000) of the graduate nurses in the country served during World War I. With the help of the American Red Cross and the Committee on Nursing of the Council of National Defense, the nursing profession was able to maintain adequate nursing services for both civilian and military populations. The country became aware of its need for nursing, but it became apparent that nursing had to call in the military authorities to define nursing's role and authority in military hospitals. At its 1917 convention in Philadelphia, ANA adopted a resolution asking that "the proper military authorities should be requested to specifically define the status of the nurse and confer upon her the authority necessary to control the situation, to the end that the general welfare of the sick may be promoted and a very grave danger to the well averted."

Early in 1918, the Committee on Nursing of the General Medical Board of the Council of National Defense called on Annie W. Goodrich, president of the American Nurses' Association, to make surveys of national nursing resources and nursing in military hospitals. According to Ms. Goodrich, a value of the census was "the revelation of a very large number of nurses not yet enrolled for war services either through the Red Cross of by direct enlistment in the Army or Navy."

The survey of military hospitals conducted by Ms. Goodrich resulted in her recommendation for the establishment of an army school of nursing rather than the adoption of the Surgeon General's plan to prepare Red Cross aides to serve in the armed forces.

After heated arguments on the issue, her plan was adopted and the Army School of Nursing was authorized by the War Department on May 25, 1918. This school, which was discontinued in August 1931, played a significant role in the development of American nursing.

Two hundred and ninety-six American nurses died in World War I, 100 of whom were buried in France. ANA took the lead in securing the Florence Nightingale School of Nursing at Bordeaux, France, as a memorial to the American nurses. Funds were collected to complete the school according to original plans, and after years of delays and difficulties, the school was dedicated in June, 1931.

As we have seen so clearly following the Vietnam War, the adjustment from military to civilian life can be as difficult as the war itself. ANA realized this following World War I and, with the help of other groups, set up a Bureau of Information to counsel nurses returning from overseas.

Between 1920 and 1922, 1,357 nurses applied for positions through the Bureau. The Bureau placed 1,275 nurses. Over 1,544 vacancies in hospitals and allied organizations were directly or indirectly filled through the work of the Bureau.

In the late 30's and early 40's, the ANA was once again faced with the need to aid in fulfilling the demands for nursing services created by a national emergency. American nurses began to prepare for their involvement in nursing the sick and the wounded long before the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

In July, 1940, the ANA called a meeting of representatives of five national nursing organizations, the American Red Cross Nursing Service, and the federal agencies most immediately concerned with the utilization and extention of nursing resources. The purpose was to discuss the actual role of nursing in national defense. The result of the meeting was the formation of the National Nursing Council for War Service which was established to promote a national inventory of registered nurses, expand facilities of existing schools of nursing, and supply supplementary nursing services to hospitals and public health agencies.

When it became apparent that many schools were not able to expand their facilities, a program of federal aid was enacted. And in 1943, Congress enacted the Bolton bill, named for Representative Frances Bolton of Ohio, which authorized the U.S. Public Health Service to establish the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps to extend financial aid to persons wishing to enroll in schools of nursing.

In June, 1944, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt sent a message to ANA's "wartime convention" saying that "one of the most necessary things to keep up the morale of our fighting men is the knowledge that competent nursing care is always at hand for those injured in battle. The record made by the...nurses who are serving with the Army and the Navy is one in which every American citizen can take pride. We will need more nurses in the Army and the Navy and I know you will not fail in providing them."

By September, 1944, a total of 33,000 sick and wounded were being returned from combat zones each month. Although one out of every four active nurses was engaged in military nursing service, there was a need for even more. At the same time, with the expansion of factories to accomodate defense and war industries, the need for civilian nurses was equally great.

In May, 1944, the War Commission unexpectedly raised the total ceiling for the Army Nurse Corps from 40,000 to 50,000 nurses. Between December 1941 and December 1944, 81,145 registered nurses volunteered for duty in the Army and Navy Nurse Corps. A total of 53,267 assignments also were reported to the Red Cross by the Army and the Navy. By January 1, 1945, 235,00 nurses had been classified according to their availability for military or civilian service.

During that period, the need for more nurses led to legislative proposals for a draft of nurses - a proposal which ANA rejected except as a first step to selected service for all women. ANA urged a voluntary plan. The testimony of Katherine Densford, ANA president at that time, gives some idea of the conditions nurses were facing:

"There is a limit beyond which nurses cannot be mobilized under any plan. This is particularly true because the duties of nurses in this war time emergency have been extended far beyond their recognized field. In fact, they have become the 'shock absorbers' for any and all unmet needs, both in military and civilian hospitals. In combat areas as well as on the civilian front, medical care necessarily is spread so thin that nurses are doing minor surgery, giving infusions, putting patients up in traction, etc...Nurses in some military areas are badly overworked, and are greatly in need of relief. The situation in civilian hospitals is almost as acute. Many nurses are working far beyond their strength."

Nurses were working beyond their strength in two other wars in which our country has engaged since World War II. Nearly 6,800 nurses served in the Army and Navy Nurse Corps in the Korean War. (Figures from the Air Force were not available) Of the 7,484 women stationed in Vietnam, 6,250 were nurses.

There have been studies showing that many nurses suffered the particular stress that characterized the Vietnam War as did many of the armed forces. Nurses served from early in the conflict, 1962 until the final withdrawal of troops early in 1973. They dealt with the 24 hour care of enormous numbers of patients with injuries of a nature that had seldom been experienced by nurses in previous wars. In addition, an unknown number of civilian nurses from the United States volunteered their services to care for the civilian population of South Vietnam.

## SUMMARY

Historically, ANA has been committed to assuring that adequate numbers of nurses are educationally prepared and available to deliver nursing care services in the military. Nurses always have responded gallantly when their services were needed in times of national emergencies. However, it is a fact that women veterans in this country, including nurses, have not received the same care, recognition, treatment and benefits given to male veterans.

For the above reasons, we feel it is especially appropriate that a general monument be established in our capital city to honor the thousands of women who have served in or with the armed forces over several decades. It will serve as a continuing reminder of the contributions these women have made to their country throughout history.

ANA appreciates your consideration of our views and looks forward to working with you on this issue.

Resource: One Strong Voice: The Story of the American Nurses' Association
Published by the American Nurses' Association, 1976, Kansas City, Missouri

Berenice K. George
President
P.O. Box 6064
Clearwater, FL 33518

November 5, 1985

Mr. Tony Bevinetto, Ch Prof Staff
Subcommittee on Public Relations
Water Resources & Conservation
Senate Committee on Energy & Natural Rss.
Room 309 - Dirksen Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Bevinetto:

We would like to make a strong statement in favor of erecting a Memorial statue to all women veterans for the service they rendered to their country in times of war and peace.

Their history of service is well documented and should be recognized with a MEMORIAL STATUE TO WOMEN who have served in all conflicts since revolutionary days.

Other heroes have been honored in this way and we feel that the service given to this country by women should be recognized.

I am President and spokesmen of 106 members of the Suncoast Unit #15 of WAVES National Corporation. I feel this would be a fitting memorial to ALL WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE ARMED SERVICES!

Very truly yours,

Berenice K. George
Berenice K. George

CC: Earl Hutto, MC
Don Fuqua, MC
Charles E. Bennett, MC
Bill Chappell, Jr., MC
Bill McCollum, MC
Buddy MacKay, MC
Sam M. Gibbons, MC
C. W. Bill Young, MC
Michael Bilirakis, MC
Andy Ireland, MC
Bill Nelson, MC
Tom Lewis, MC
Connie Mack, MC
Dan Mica, MC
E. Clay Shaw, Jr., MC
Larry Smith, MC
William Lehman, MC
Claude Pepper, MC
Dante B. Fascell, MC

and Lawton M. Chiles, USS
Paula Hawkins, USS

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
U. S. COAST GUARD
STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT COMMANDER REBECCA MONTGOMERY
ON THE PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO HONOR WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES
COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION'S
TASK FORCE ON LIBRARIES AND MEMORIALS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
20 MAY 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN, I AM PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH YOU AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO HONOR THE CONTRIBUTIONS WOMEN HAVE MADE TO THE ARMED FORCES, IN PARTICULAR THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD.

I AM PRESENTLY SERVING IN THE RESERVE TRAINING DIVISION OF THE OFFICE OF READINESS AND RESERVE, U. S. COAST GUARD HEADQUARTERS. SINCE RECEIVING MY COMMISSION IN 1974, I HAVE SERVED AS A MARINE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION OFFICER IN CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS, AND ON THE STAFF OF THE ELEVENTH COAST GUARD DISTRICT COMMANDER. MY LAST ASSIGNMENT WAS AS DEPUTY GROUP COMMANDER OF COAST GUARD GROUP, MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN.

WOMEN FIRST ENLISTED IN THE COAST GUARD RESERVE IN 1918. IN 1942, THE COAST GUARD WOMEN'S RESERVE WAS FORMED TO RELIEVE COAST GUARDSMEN OF ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES AND FREE THEM FOR BATTLE. THIS RESERVE COMPONENT WAS KNOWN AS THE "SPAR's", AN ACRONYM FOR SEMPER PARATUS, ALWAYS READY. THE END OF WORLD WAR II SAW OVER 10,000 ENLISTED AND 1,000 OFFICER WOMEN SPARS. ALL WERE EITHER DISCHARGED OR RELEASED FROM ACTIVE DUTY. IN 1949, THE SPAR's WERE REACTIVATED AND WOMEN WERE ASSIGNED CLERICAL AND SUPPLY DUTIES TO SUPPORT THE KOREAN CONFLICT. IN 1973, 14 USC 762 ENDED THE WOMEN'S RESERVE AS A SEPARATE BRANCH WITHIN THE COAST GUARD RESERVE. THIS LAW AUTHORIZED WOMEN TO TRAIN AND SERVE IN EITHER AN ACTIVE OR INACTIVE STATUS AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE COAST GUARD.

IN 1976, THE COAST GUARD ACADEMY WAS THE FIRST SERVICE ACADEMY TO ENROLL WOMEN. IN 1978, ALL RESTRICTIONS WERE REMOVED FROM TRAINING, ASSIGNMENT, AND CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN. WOMEN ARE NOW ASSIGNED TO EVERY TYPE OF COAST GUARD UNIT, INCLUDING COMBATANT VESSELS, ISOLATED LONG RANGE AID TO NAVIGATION STATIONS, AIR STATIONS, SEARCH AND RESCUE STATIONS, AND MERCHANT VESSEL INSPECTION DUTIES. TWO WOMEN SERVE AS COMMANDING OFFICERS OF COASTAL PATROL BOATS. COAST GUARD WOMEN COMPRISE 6% OF OUR TOTAL ACTIVE DUTY FORCE, 2.9% OF THE OFFICER CORPS, AND 6.8% OF THE ENLISTED RANKS.

THE COAST GUARD'S SERVICE TO MANKIND HAS MANY EXAMPLES OF WOMEN FACING THE CHALLENGES OF THE SEA. IN APRIL 1979, SEAMAN INA TOAVS WAS AWARDED THE COAST GUARD MEDAL, OUR HIGHEST PEACETIME HEROISM AWARD, FOR HER PART IN RESCUING AN UNCONSCIOUS FISHERMAN FROM THE SURF AT BODEGA BAY, CALIFORNIA. BUT SERVICE AND DEVOTION TO DUTY ARE NOT WITHOUT A PRICE. IN JANUARY 1982, LIEUTENANT (JUNIOR GRADE) COLLENE A. CAIN, WHILE SERVING AS CO-PILOT ON AN HH-52 HELICOPTER, WHICH WAS ENGAGED IN A HAZARDOUS SEARCH AND RESCUE MISSION IN HAWAII, WAS KILLED WHEN THE HELICOPTER CRASHED.

THE U. S. COAST GUARD, AS AN ORGANIZATION, AND I PERSONALLY, SUPPORT THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL TO HONOR WOMEN VETERANS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES. THESE WOMEN, LIKE THEIR FELLOW SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AIRMEN AND MARINES, HEEDED A CALL TO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY, TO PAY ANY PRICE WITH PRIDE AND SELFLESSNESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT CONCLUDES MY PREPARED STATEMENT. I WILL BE HAPPY TO RESPOND TO ANY QUESTIONS THE COMMITTEE MAY HAVE.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
COLLEGE PARK 20742
301-454-[illegible]

1985 OCT 30 PM 3:31

FREEDMEN AND SOUTHERN SOCIETY PROJECT
IRA BERLIN, DIRECTOR

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October 28, 1985

Senator Malcolm Wallop
c/o Ann Pemia
Sub-Committee on Public Lands, Reserved
Water & Resource Conservation
358 Dirksen Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

I would like to submit the enclosed for your sub-committee's hearing on the establishment of a memorial for black people who fought in the American Revolution (Senate Joint Resolution #143).

If I can be of further assistance, please call.

Sincerely yours,

Ira Berlin

# Testimony of Ira Berlin for Sub-Committee on Public Lands, Reserved Water & Resource Conservation

## On the Establishment of a Memorial for Black Revolutionary Patriots

The establishment of a monument to the black men who helped make American independence possible is an extremely worthwhile endeavor. It offers an opportunity to celebrate the contribution of black people to the establishment of an independent American republic and to inform the American people generally how black participation in that struggle helped to make the nation and to shape its ideals. I fully endorse the proposal of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation. It also offers an opportunity to rethink the meaning American Revolution with respect to freedom and slavery, so that any monument that is established would reflect a true understanding of that slaveholders' war for liberty.

Let me elaborate:

The relation of black people to the American Revolution is profoundly ambiguous. Like white colonials, black people--free and slave--were found on both sides of the line of battle, fighting in the American and in the British armies. The success of the Revolution was an important stride forward in the growth of black liberty. But the American Revolution also lead to an expansion of slavery--perhaps the greatest expansion that institution would ever know. Black Americans--like white ones--were pulled in two directions by the American Revolution.

Without question, black people saw the revolution as an opportunity to expand freedom. They volunteered their loyality, their labor, and their lives to anyone who would guarantee their freedom and that of their posterity. As a result, thousands of black men served in American and the British armies. The role of black soldiers in the the Revolution war effort has been told most fully and eloquently in the work of Professor Benjamin Quarles. In his classic, The Negro and the American Revolution, he not only documents when and in what numbers young black men fought but he also shows how military service involved the entire black community--women as well men, old people as well as young ones. For although black people fought on both sides, they choose their allegiance carefully, giving their loyalty to that belligerent who assure their freedom. In so doing, they made--far more than other participants in the struggle for independence--a commitment to the ideal of universal liberty. For black people, slavery was not an abstract metaphor for the injustice of British policies, it was an everyday reality. They thus tried to transform their commitment to liberty to a national commitment. But in this, they were only partially successful.

Without question, American independence greatly expanded the freedom of black people. Before the war, few blacks enjoyed liberty. Many black people gained their liberty fighting in the Revolution, and following independence, many more gained their freedom as every Northern states enacted legislation to provide for the eventual end of slavery. By 1804, chattel bondage was on the road to extinct in North. Emancipationist sentiment never made similar advances in the Southern states. But in parts of the Upper South--Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina--legislators and judges taking the word of the Declaration of Independence to heart, liberalized manumission laws and relaxed the strictures against freedom suits. Before long, some owners freed their slaves or allowed them to purchase their freedom. The free black population grew as never before. By 1790, at the time the first federal census, more than 59,000 black people enjoyed liberty in the new Republic.

But the Revolution was not only a stride forward in the expansion of black liberty. American independence allowed slaveholders to legitmate their claims to property in human beings and--by putting some of the largest slaveholders into positions of power in the new national government--it permitted them to defend their right to human property. The Revolution thus strengthened the slaveholders' regime and, in the years that followed, slavery would grow as never before, spreading quickly across the newly settled southwest. Thus, if the Revolution marked a new birth of freedom, it also launched a great expansion of slavery.

It seems to me that our job in establishing a monument to black Revolutionary Patriots is to create a legacy equal to the complex reality to the American Revolution. Such a monument must represent those black who remained locked in bondage as a result of the Revolution's success as well as those blacks who gain their liberty in the war and its aftermath. Such a monument must praise those who fought for their liberty on the British side as well as those who march in the Patriot case. In short, the monument must speak to the ideals of those who were true to the Declaration of Independence and who risked everything for freedom, no matter which side they fought. It must speak for the ideal for which black people fought, even though the Republic would not begin to meet that standard until the passage of the thirteenth amendment nearly a century later. By their loyalty to the ideal of unversal liberty, black revolutionaries helped to create the most precious legacy of the Revolutionary era. It is that which we should celebrate.

# TESTIMONY

# ON SJ-RES. 143

# SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER, & RESOURCE CONSERVATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Presented by | DR. BETTYE COLLIER-THOMAS<br>Executive Director<br>Bethune Museum-Archives, Inc.<br>National Historic Site |
| Date | October 29, 1985 |
| Place | Rm. 358 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.<br>Washington, DC 20515 |

I wish to thank the Black Revolutionary War Patriots' Foundation for inviting me to testify at this hearing on the proposed legislation to authorize the establishment of a memorial in the District of Columbia to honor the more than 5,000 black persons who served in the American Revolution. This is a most significant movement and I am pleased to be a part of it.

In 1927 the National Memorial Association was established by Afro-Americans to have erected in Washington, D.C. a National Memorial Building, which would serve as a permanent monument to the contributions and achievements of the black race. The Association asked the United States Congress (by the introduction of S.J. Res. 132 and H.J. Res. 60) to assist in the movement by creating a commission and appropriating $50,000 to procure a site and defray the expenses of the commission. The National Memorial Association proposed to raise the funds for the erection of the building. This Association included prominent Afro-American leaders like Mary McLeod Bethune. While this movement like a number of others failed to achieve its stated objectives, it is important as one of many links in the chain which has brought us here today.

The National Memorial Association formed a part of a long and distinctive history of Afro-Americans pressing for recognition of their existence. In making the case for the National Memorial Building the Association leaders made the following statement, which is as relevant today as it was fifty-seven years ago:

> General memorials do not make the average American think of Negroes. Therefore, the failure to erect a special memorial may and probably will be interpreted as meaning that Negroes have made no great contribution to American advancement in war or in any other field. The city of Washington is studded with beautiful monuments commemorating the deeds and accomplishments of many individuals, groups and organizations, but among these anywhere cannot be found a monument to the deeds and achievements of the Negro race.
>
> A national memorial building containing a hall of fame, art and music room, library and reading rooms, statues and tablets, a museum, and an auditorium seating 5,000, such as is proposed to commemorate the deeds American Negroes wrought for the perpetuation and advancement of the Nation, would embody the utilitarian, aesthetic and reverential, thus meeting the monument building ideas of the age as well as serving the race in a unique useful way.
>
> The indispensable part the Negro played in America has been conspicuously overlooded. School histories carry no records of his valiant deeds either in time of war or in time of peace. It is not told how he hewed the forest and tilled the soil helping to lay the foundation of the nation's greatness, nor how he has invariably shouldered the musket, from the Revolutionary War for Independence to the World War for Democracy, and poured out his blood in military defense of his country. Let us now have a great national memorial in perpetual testimony of the gratefulness of the country he has so unstintedly served and in enduring commemoration of his loyalty, valor and accomplishments.

There are many arguments which one might present to convince this august body and indeed all Americans of the significance of establishing a memorial to black soldiers who fought in the American Revolution. One might deal with the importance of their contribution, placing it within the context of the American struggle for freedom. One might point out the duality of purpose and the irony of black involvement in the American Revolution during the period 1775 to 1783 when most Afro-Americans were slaves, and that moreover many of the black patriots were also fighting for their own freedom. Their participation, as well as the interpretation many Afro-Americans placed upon the purpose of the American Revolution, had a solid impact upon the institution of slavery. Thus, the black patriots not only contributed to the winning of the war, but achieving their own freedom they enlarged the ranks of free blacks, whose voices and deeds became a mainstay of the Abolitionist Movement, which eventually helped to dismantle the institution of slavery.

Few Americans who know this history would disagree that recognition of the contribution of these black patriots is long overdue. However, tragically in 1985, two hundred and ten years since the commencement of the American Revolution, few Americans are aware of the extent of Afro-American involvement in this history making epoch. American history textbooks commissioned for use in state public schools still reflect an ambivalence in their presentation of the role of blacks in American history. If and when they do cite the participation of Afro-Americans in the Revolutionary War, they are not designed to detail by name, deed and event or through specific interpretation the significance of the contribution. The most noteworthy scholarly history of blacks in the American Revolution, written by Dr. Benjamin Quarles, is read mainly by college students and scholars who have a specific interest in Afro-American history. Media presentations continue to reflect a largely white involvement. Thus, through the sins of omission and commission, Afro-Americans remain invisible and are perceived during the Revolution as just a body of slaves who had no influence over their own destiny or that of the country.

How can the erection of a memorial achieve the goal of educating the American public and indeed the world about the role of blacks in the American Revolution? Monuments, statues, national historic sites, and landmarks are in a very real sense documents of history, which play a very important role in the educational process. Millions of tourists annually travel throughout the world. During their travels they frequently participate in packaged tours, which afford them an opportunity to learn about the life, history and culture of a nation. Monuments, memorials and historic buildings constitute at least eighty percent of most tours. In America, there are many major cities that contain monuments and memorials which document regional history and individual achievement. Washington, D.C., the nation's capital is a very popular international tourist center, which features numerous monuments and memorial, however, like many of its sister cities, few of these edifices attest to the black presence in American history. In Washington there is only one memorial to an Afro-American located on public land. This is the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial. And while this magnificent memorial is situated within blocks from the Congress, the Supreme Court, the Library of Congress, the Folger Library and other key tourist spots, few visitors to the city are privileged to have seen the Bethune Memorial, since major tour companies, such as the Gray Lines have consistently refused to add this site to their tour agenda. This kind of discrimination in selection of mainly sites documenting what is perceived as white achievement is a national practice which has been ignored. Thus, we have a dual mission, to assure that the memorial to Black Patriots in the American Revolution is built in Washington, D.C. - the nation's capital, and that it is strategically located on land visible from the steps of both Constitution Hall and the Lincoln Memorial. This will assure its accessibility and visibility.

A memorial to black patriots in the American Revolution will not only document black achievement at a single moment in our history, it will be symbolic of the black sojourn in America, most notably the struggle for freedom, but also it represents in part the culmination of over a century of Afro-American efforts to develop exhibitions, expositions, fairs, memorials, monuments and museums which would document their heritage as they perceived it. In 1865 Afro-Americans launched a national campaign to raise funds for the erection of a monument which would honor Abraham Lincoln, the venerable fallen President and the over four million slaves who had endured to see the light of freedom. The monument, called the Emancipation Group, sybolized the end of an era. This monument, located in Lincoln Park depicting President Lincoln breaking the chains of the slave, in 1974 with Congressional approval was turned around to face the Bethune Memorial. The idea for the Emancipation Group and the Bethune Memorial, like that of the proposed memorial to black patriots, originated with black people who sought a higher understanding and recognition for the role played by President Lincoln in the freeing of the slave as well as a validation of the contributions slaves had made to the building of America.

The Emancipation Group and the Bethune Memorial represent the collective contributions of primarily black people, who self-sacrificingly gave their pennies, nickels and dimes to insure the immortality of their heroes and heroines. In each generation there have been those who have questioned the utility of erecting monuments in the face of hunger and want, however, those of a higher vision such as the Reverend Henry

Highland Garnet, former abolitionist and the President of the Colored People's National Monument Association, which raised the funds for the Emancipation Group; and Dorothy I. Height, the President of the National Council of Negro Women, who in 1957 announced that the organization would erect a monument to Mary McLeod Bethune; and Lena Santos Ferguson who suceeded in getting the House of Representatives to pass a resolution (Public Law 98-245) honoring the contribution of blacks to the American Revolution, courageously pursued their goals.

This is indeed an idea whose time has come. The erection of a memorial to black patriots will give new and much needed validation to the black presence in American history and because of its linkage to the American Revolution it will serve as a conduit to unite Americans across lines of race, ethnicity, religion and place of origin. Hopefully it will stand as a most poignant reminder that American history has been diverse and complex; that black, white and red, Protestant and Jew, people of diverse origins who have through their vision, sheer fortitude and courage have achieved in spite of the odds. This is a noble task we have embarked upon. I urge the passage of Resolution SJ 143 to authorize the Black Revolutionary War Patriots' Foundation to establish this memorial.

Statement by Benjamin Quarles S. J. Res. 143

## A WORTHY COMMEMORATION, ENNOBLING OUR NATION

In the winning of our country's independence during the Revolutionary War black Americans played a role well worthy of acclaim, highly deserving of national praise and honor. Hence I count it a privilege to have this opportunity to testify on behalf of the establishment of a memorial to these Afro-American patriots, said monument to be located most appriately in our nation's seat of government, Washington, D. C.

Americans are a history-conscious people, aware of their country's path-breaking past, and its role as a beacon-light. I share this sense of history-mindedness, especially since for many years I was engaged in the teaching of United States history, with particular attention to the role of Afro-Americans therein. May I then, with due deference to your honors, invite your consideration to my plea for this memorial to the presence of blacks in the American Revolution, to their significant contribution to the birth of the nation. I shall treat these black participants under three headings—their motivation, their role on the battlefronts, and their gains, however modest, as a result of the war.

### I. The Motivation of Blacks

The coming of the Revolutionary War had a tonic effect on blacks. The outbreak of any war would obviously be welcome to a minority population such as the blacks in British mainland American in 1775. Most of these some 500,000 Negroes were slaves, with little to lose and everything to gain from a clash at arms between England and her former colonies. To blacks the Revolutionary War was doubly welcome inasmuch as the Americans, their masters, waged it upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Unlettered for the most part, black Americans were not strong on theory and would hardly have been prepared to discuss the ideological origins of the war. But they could readily understand a proposition to the effect that all men were created equal and that everyone was entitled to liberty and to engage in the pursuit of his own well-being unimpeded by man-made distinctions. Such a patriotic slogan as, "Give me liberty or give me death," carried its message as unmistakenly to the unschooled as to the more learned.

If Americans, black and white, were alike moved by the slogans of liberty, the two racial groups were not as one in their war-related aspirations. White Americans had their class and cultural differences but basically there were akin in viewing the Revolutionary War as that of eradicating legal and social inequities. Whites fought for equal rights rather than for freedom, their aim the achievement of a leveling democracy rather than an escape from chattel slavery. The goal of white Americans was conservative as compared with that of the blacks in their midst--the former sought to minimize class and culture preferences whereas the latter sought to scale the all but impenetrable wall of caste and color.

Like other Americans, blacks viewed the Revolutionary War in terms of their interests and concerns. Moved by the theory of natural rights, their response to the war was embodied in the commonly current catchwords, "liberty" and "independence." Giving a personal interpretation to the high-sounding slogans by which the Americans justified the war, they redoubled their efforts for emancipation. Some of them petitioned their state legislatures. In support of their petition for freedom a group of slaves in Massachusetts pointed out that every principle that impelled America to break with England pleaded strongly in their favor. A group of slaves in New Hampshire urged the assembly to take action on their behalf, to the end "that the name of slave may not more be heard in a land gloriously contending for the sweets of freedom."

Blacks who were property owners and hence tax payers and yet were denied the right to vote became emboldened by the theory, "No taxation without representation," so fervently proclaimed by American patriots. Blacks in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, led by John Cuffe and his more famous brother Paul, sent eloquent petitions to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, asserting that blacks "have cheerfully entered the field of battle in defence of the common cause...against a similar exertion of power in regard to taxation."

Blacks to the south found expression not in written petitions but in overt behavior and a bolder attitude. They became harder to handle, showing an insubordinate disposition. Late in 1775 the County Committee of Inspection in Dorchester, Maryland, reported that "the insolence of the Negroes in this county is come to such a height that we are under a necessity of disarming them. We took about eighty guns, some bayonets, swords, etc." Writing from the Eastern Shore six months later Governor Thomas Johnson informed the Council of Safety that men there were reluctant to leave their neighborhood because of the Negroes--a group likely to become dangerous if the militia met any reverses from the British. In his recently published study of Revolutionary Maryland, Ronald Hoffman notes the heavily concentrated centers of black population on the Eastern Shore "were severe sources of strain and worry during the Anglo-American conflict."

Slaves regarded military service as the open sesame to freedom, and hence they were anxious to enlist. They were not "choosy" about which army they would join. Some slaves ran away to sign on with the American forces. Other slaves found asylum with the British, and later with the French, when these armies came into their neighborhood. In Virginia the masters were required to remove their slaves from the vicinity of the advancing British forces, a practice that spread to other Southern communities, becoming known as "running the Negroes."

The British, as was inevitable, invited blacks to join their ranks, an invitation dating from the early months of the war and extended by Lord Dunmore, the last Royal Governor. In June 1779 Commander in Chief Sir Henry Clinton issued the most sweeping of the slave-freeing proclamations issued by the British military. It promised to blacks their freedom and stipulated that they would be given their choice of any occupation within the British lines.

By 1779 the Americans, too, were welcoming blacks to their armies. In the early stages of the war, the American authorities, military and civilian, had adopted a policy of excluding Negroes, free as well as slave. This reluctance to arm blacks was variously motivated. Most blacks were slaves or servants whose enlistment would violate the property rights of their masters. It was commonly believed, moreover, that blacks lacked fighting qualities. Somewhat paradoxically, however, the dominant reason for the exclusion of blacks from the military was that of fear. A black with a gun was an open invitation to trouble.

The policy of excluding blacks as arms-bearers was based on the mistaken supposition that the war would be over quickly. By the summer of 1777, with the war dragging inton its third year, a policy reversal began, with the Northern states, plus Maryland, deciding to recruit blacks whatever the risks. In the spring of 1779 the Continental Congress, following the example of the states in reversing its policy, recommended to Georgia and South Carolina that they enlist 3,000 slaves.

This measure provided that if the slave served faithfully and well for the duration of the war he would be granted his freedom. Freedom--this was the magic word that brought blacks into the fighting forces. Whoever invoked the image of liberty, be he American, English or French, sounded a note to which blacks readily responded. The loyalty of a black American was not to a locality in which he was propertyless, not to an assembly in which he could never sit, and not to a social order which denied his manhood. His loyalty was reserved for whoever made him the best, quickest and most concrete offer in terms of man's inalienable rights. By the summer of 1777 the Revolutionary authorities had come to realize that the best way to keep blacks from fleeing to the British would be to give them sufficient inducement to cast their lot with the Americans.

## II. Black Participation

The black soldier's fondness for freedom explains his eagerness to serve and his comportment in the service. Blacks already free were motivated by the prospect of bounties in land or money, and many of them doubtless shared a belief in the high-principled goals announced by American spokesman. Perhaps some free blacks were stirred by the story of Crispus Attucks, the runaway slave who fell in the Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770, and was buried from historic Faneuil Hall, "the Cradle of Liberty."

The morale of the some 5,000 blacks, slave and free, who served in the Revolutionary armies was likely to be good. This is not to say, however, that there was no racial discrimination. Although there were very few segregated regiments, the typical black recruit was likely to be a private, consigned as if by caste to the rank and file. He served with the infantry rather than with the militarily more prestigious cavalry or infantry. He often found himself enrolled in the wagon, commissary or forage services, assignments generally shunned by white soldiers. Assignments as orderlies, cooks and waiters customarily went to blacks.

These soldiers were not unaware of such discriminations but it affected their behavior but little. To be a soldier was to them progress in itself. To blacks the army was a stepping-stone. Moreover, they were less likely than others to become deserters inasmuch as they had no farm to return to, no home to be homesick about. Although their terms of enlistment were longer than the general average, blacks were not likely to be summer soldiers, melting away when the crops ripened.

The fighting contribution of Negro Americans to the Revolutionary cause was not confined to action on land. Blacks were found in the naval service from the outbreak of hostilities. The navies, Continental and state, suffered a chronic manpower shortage and hence drew no color line. The use of blacks as sailors in wartime aroused no apprehension, colored seamen having been a common sight in colonial America. In obtaining black sailors the official navies had to meet the competition of privateers and vessels sailing under letters of marque, especially since these privately owned sea-craft never bothered to ask embarrassing questions of those signing on.

Blacks were put to use by the allies of the Americans, the French and the Spanish. The French army that took part in the unsuccessful siege of Savannah in the autumn of 1779 included 545 blacks. Recruited in Santo Domingo, these troops included the youthful Henri Christophe, later King Henri I of Haiti In the same year the Spaniards under Bernardo de Galvez began to operate against the British posts on the Gulf Coast, the soft underbelly (to use Churchill's phrase) of the British possessions in mainland America. Using a total of 373 black soldiers and officers, Galvez successfully struck at Baton Rouge, Mobile and Pensacola, thus markedly contributing to the closing of the gateway through which the British planned to strike at the western flank of the Americans.

The British themselves, as has been suggested, made extensive use of black auxiliaries. They converted few blacks into soldiers, the need for military laborers practically exhausting the available supply. The former slaves were put to a variety of war-related tasks, black carpenters, axemen, blacksmiths, sawyers and armorers notably increasing the striking power of the Crown. Blacks were put to use as spies and informers. Black seamen were especially welcome, particularly those who could pilot the royal vessels in the lesser known coastal waters.

## III. Black Gains: Immediate and Deferred

To blacks the American Revolution was not devoid of positive results. Its fires snuffed out slavery in the North. Blacks who had joined the American armies upon the promise of freedom usually found that this pledge was honored. The opening year of the war witnessed the birth of the world's first anti-slavery organization, "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage." Church groups, spurred by the Methodists, began to speak out against slavery. In the states that still retained the practice there were some sporadic efforts at encouraging slave manumissions and discouraging the practice of selling younger children from their mothers. The Continental Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance which included a provision against slavery in the territory above the Ohio, by far the highwater mark in postwar national legislation of benefit to blacks.

The war in its relationships to blacks disturbed the conscience of many whites. To those of a reflective turn of mind the war exposed the ambiguities and contradictions of American thought as to the rights of man. A clue to a nation's character is revealed when a crisis comes; in a time of troubles a nation's culture crops out. A war leads to a more searching self-scrutiny, including a greater consciousness of deep-seated if dormant prejudices and mindsets, in this case an awareness of what a twentieth century Swedish social scientist would term "an American dilemma."

If this heightened sensitivity to the presence of an underprivileged black minority characterized some Americans, they were far outnumbered by those who perceived no such an ideological inconsistency. Not considering themselves as counter-revolutionary, these Americans did not repudiate the theory of natural rights. They got around any dilemma by the simple device of holding that blacks were an outgroup rather than heirs of the same promise. These whites subscribed to an equation of equality which did not include non-whites. The latter were held to be outside the pale, "among us, yet not of us."

Blacks of the post-war generation were quick to realize their exclusion from the American credo. Blacks never beguilded themselves into regarding the American Revolution as a social movement. The mulatto mathematician-astronomer Benjamin Banneker of Baltimore County would remind Thomas Jefferson of his lapse from logic in penning the Declaration of Independence on one hand and in holding slaves on the other. A black Marylander of a later day, Frederick Douglass, in a Fourth of July oration in 1852 to a white audience said, "This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. *You* may rejoice, *I* must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony."

Douglass ended his speech, however, by expressing his belief in the destiny of the United States. He drew courage, he said, "from the Declaration of Independence, the great spirit it contains, and the genius of American Institutions." Like most blacks of his day Douglass preferred to believe that revolutions never go backward.

The most revered figure by blacks of the Revolutionary generation was Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of the organizers of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Rush wrote an article for one of Benjamin Banneker's almanacs, and he had a personal acquaintance with Paul Cuffe and a black fellow-physician, James Derham, for both of whom he had written glowing testimonials. In 1787, commenting on the recent war, Rush made an observation to which all blacks could subscribe: "The American War is over," said he, "but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed."

This sentiment was echoed in 1876 at an American centennial celebration held by the Excelsior Charitable Organization of Colored Ladies of Boston, one of the speakers reciting a poem bearing the line, "O, not in vain did Attucks fall." The blacks of our own day are not as optimistic as their forbears but they, too, still retain a residual faith in the promise of America. They, too, hope that their country will redeem its deferred commitment, and that Attucks indeed will not have fallen in vain.

(end)

# TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC
# LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND RESOURCE
# CONSERVATION

SENATE ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

29 October 1985

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before you today to present the views of the Sons of the American Revolution on the memorial to the black Revolutionary War patriots which is proposed for erection on the Mall in our nation's capital, Washington, DC.

Conceived by a progenitor organization as a centennial tribute in 1876, the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution was organized in 1889. The Society was chartered by the Congress of the United States on June 9, 1906 as a patriotic,historical and educational society, organized to perpetuate the memory of the men, who by their services or sacrifices during the war of the American Revolution, achieved the independence of the American people.

Although the records of military service in the American Revolution are far from complete, it is apparent that well over 300,000 Americans served in our Continental Army, our State forces, or in mobilized State militia units during that war. A significant body within that force was comprised of the 5,000 black Americans who are known to have served this nation during that conflict. Those men served our nation well, despite the fact that black servitude was established by law in many of our States, and the liberty that they fought for was denied to most of their American brethren.

Just prior to the Revolution, a black American was one of those shot down by British bullets in Boston in what came to be known as the Boston Massacre. On the morning of the nineteenth of April in 1775, at Lexington in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Captain John Parker placed his Lexington Minute Man company on the Green to oppose advancing British regulars. Among the members of that little band was a black farmer named Prince Esterbrook, who was destined to be one of the Americans wounded in the opening battle of our Revolution.

The distinguished American artist of the early nineteenth century, Mr. John Trumbell, served as an aide to General Washington during the siege of Boston in 1775 and 1776. Later in life, he dedicated much of his painting to Revolutionary War scenes. In fact, four of his large paintings decorate the Rotunda of the Capitol building to this day. One of his most famous paintings depicts the death of Doctor Joseph Warren, a distinguished American patriot, during the battle of Bunker Hill. Of particular interest in that painting is the grimly determined figure of a black American fighting man, fighting to hold back the British attackers. Trumbell did not include that black American in his painting merely for effect. He did it to pay tribute to one of the American heroes of that terrible battle. The black American seen in that painting is Salem Poor, an American who had known the degradation of slavery. On December 5, 1775, fourteen white American officers presented a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts which stated, "a negro man called Salem Poor of Col. Frye's regiment, Capt. Ames' company in the late battle at Charlestown, behaved like an experienced officer, as well as an excellent soldier...We would only beg leave to say, in the person of this said negro centers a brave and gallant soldier. The Reward due so great and distinguished a character, we submit to the Congress."

In Virginia, Joseph Ranger enlisted as a seaman in the service of the Commonwealth in 1776. He served in four Virginia fighting ships during the war, the Hero, the Dragon, the Jefferson and the Patriot. Joseph Ranger survived when the Jefferson was blown-up by British action, only to suffer capture by the British when the Patriot was lost just before the battle at Yorktown.

Oliver Cromwell of New Jersey enlisted in Col. Shreeve's Second New Jersey Regiment early in the war. He fought at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Monmouth and Yorktown during his six years and nine months of honorable service to our nation.

This nation built no monuments to the memory of our Esterbrooks, Poors, Rangers or Cromwells. When our nation was young, their committment and dedication were soon forgotten. Now is the time to make up for our forgetfulness. Therefore, the Sons of the American Revolution urge your favorable consideration of SJ Resolution 143, which would provide a suitable site for a memorial to our black Revolutionary War patriots on the Mall in our nation's Capital. The memorial itself will be erected without expenditure of tax dollars. Rather, this monument will be built with funds provided by voluntary contributions.

Your support of SJ Resolution 143 will enhance our Revolutionary War heritage and provide black Americans with a symbol of the commitment to liberty, freedom and equality made by their ancestors who stood in the ranks with their white comrades and ensured the independence of this nation through their service and sacrifice.

Mr. Chairman, the Sons of the American Revolution appreciate this opportunity to present their views on this important issue.

LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION

# STATEMENT BY THE
# NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
# IN SUPPORT OF S.J.RES. 143
# HONORING BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WAR PATRIOTS

BEFORE FOR

SUBCOMMITTE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER AND
RESOURCE CONSERVATION
SENATE COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE
OCTOBER 29, 1985

MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL, President • KEITH GEIGER, Vice President • ROXANNE E. BRADSHAW, Secretary-Treasurer
DON CAMERON, Executive Director
(202) 822-7300

Mr. Chairman,

The National Education Association is pleased to submit testimony in support of S.J.Res. 143 which calls for the building of a memorial in the nation's capital to honor the brave contribution of Black Americans who participated in the Revolutionary War and the countless slaves who escaped to freedom or filed petitions with courts and legislatures demanding their freedom.

The NEA membership of some 1.7 million elementary, secondary, and higher education employees has advocated cultural diversity in curriculum materials for some time and believes a memorial commemorating the heroic contribution of Black Revolutionary War patriots is a significant and important extension of NEA policy. We are, therefore, very pleased to offer enthusiastic support for the memorial for Black patriots of the American Revolutionary War. As educators of American schoolchildren, we believe it is important that our testimony make three points: (1) the significance of the Black presence in the American Revolution; (2) the importance of the knowledge of Black patriotism; and (3) the significance of ``a place of remembrance.''

## The Significance of the Black Presence in the American Revolution

During the mid-1700's, the struggle for freedom in the British colonies was waged on two separate and distinct fronts, though both on American soil. Euro-American citizens struggled against British rule which rendered them powerless in the face of unjust taxation and the imposition of laws that worked to their disadvantage. The Black population in the colonies was rendered helpless and hopeless by colonial laws which governed persons of African descent. The two struggles were not dissimilar in theory. One could not logically argue in support of colonial freedom from British rule and justify the institution of slavery, whether that argument be couched in political or economic rhetoric.

Nevertheless, it was not until the 1760's that the colonists began to see a link between slavery and their struggle for freedom from British dominance. As early as 1766 Blacks were seeking their freedom in the courts and legislatures. While James Otis was penning his eloquent protest on ``The Rights of the British Colonies'' in which he affirmed the slave's inalienable right to freedom, Blacks were petitioning the General Court of Massachusetts for their freedom on the grounds that it was their natural right. Elizabeth Freeman, better known as Mumbet, was a slave in Massachusetts who gained notariety in 1781 when she successfully sued for her freedom by citing the Massachusetts bill of rights. Although she could not read or write, she understood that the law said all people were born free and equal. The jury agreed with Mumbet's interpretation of the state bill of rights and set her free in August, 1781. Deborah Sampson Gannett, a Black women believed to have been a heroine, dressed as a man, and served bravely during the Revolutionary War. Despite the success of the abolition movement in the northern states, most Black women of the eighteenth century lived and died as slaves.

Most Blacks living in America during this period of our history were caught in a Catch 22 with regard to their stake in colonial freedom from British rule -- their right to personal freedom would not be altered no matter what the outcome of the Euro-American struggle. That reality aside, the decision of Blacks to enter military service in defense of the colonies was made on a different level.

On March 5, 1770, Crispus Attucks made a personal decision and a public statement that was heard around the world. Attucks, a 47-year-old Black seaman who had escaped from slavery, led a revolt to drive out British troops quartered in Boston, Massachusetts. This battle is graphically referred to as the Boston Massacre. As a seaman Attucks no doubt felt the sting of British restrictions imposed by new navigation laws and chose to respond as an oppressed American. On that day in March, five years before the Revolutionary War broke out, Crispus Attucks was the first man to die in the struggle for American independence. The significance of Attucks' death is that it graphically pointed up the dramatic connection between the colonial struggle against England and the status of Blacks in America. It was a remarkable thing, the colonists reasoned, to have their fight for freedom waged by one who was not as free as they. In the years that followed the Boston Massacre, the colonists spoke against slavery and England almost in the same breath.

When the Revolution began in 1775 the question of arming Blacks -- slave and free -- consistently plagued the patriots. The fear of slave insurrection had caused the colonists to exclude Blacks from militia service as early as the mid-1600's. Despite this exclusion, Blacks frequently participated in the wars against the French and Indians, thus developing a tradition of military service that was alive at the time of the War for Indpendence.

Although Blacks distinguished themselves in the early battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, General George Washington issued an order on November 12, 1775, instructing recruiters not to enlist Blacks -- slave or free. On November 7, John Murray, Fourth Earl of Dunmore and Royal Governor Virginia, issued a proclamation offering freedom to all slaves who joined His Majesty's troops. When General Washington learned of the proclamation some weeks later, he partially reversed his earlier order to permit the enlistment of free Blacks. During the interim, however, some Blacks responded to the call of ``service for freedom'' in the ranks of British troops. This British bid for Black support during the war had the effect of liberalizing colonial policy. Not only did General Washington order the enlistment of free Blacks, but most of the states began to enlist both slaves and free Blacks. In 1776 a New York law permitted the substitution of Blacks for whites who had been drafted.

Under the more liberal laws of the states, Blacks began to enlist in the state and Continental armies in large numbers. States began vying with each other in enlisting Blacks. New Hampshire offered the same bounty to Blacks as it gave whites, and slave owners were given bounties as payment for the freedom of their slaves. When the recruitment of white soldiers in Connecticut declined, a vigorous enlistment of Blacks began. New York offered freedom to all slaves who served in the army for three years, while owners were given a land bounty for their slaves. Before the end of the war most states, as well as the Continental Congress, were enlisting slaves with the understanding that they were to receive their freedom at the end of their service.

It is estimated that 5,000 Blacks served the cause of independence -- one Black for every 60 whites. Other Blacks served as laborers, spies, and guides. The 5,000 estimate is often misrepresented when consideration is given to the fact that a large number of Blacks served longer tours of duty in comparison to the short tours of 3-9 months served by whites. A review of pension files of that time indicates that Black pensioners served an average of 4.5 to 5 years in the American Revolution.

Despite the fact that the bulk of the Black population was in the South, the majority of Black soldiers were from the North. Georgia and South Carolina refused to allow slaves to participate in the war effort, although many ran away to join up. Black soldiers served in every phase of the war and under every possible condition. Some volunteered, others were drafted, while still others were substituted for white draftees. There were a few separate Black fighting units. In Massachusetts two Black companies were formed. One was ``The Massoit Guards'' which served under Major Samuel Lawrence; the other was ``The Bucks of America'' which served under Middleton, a Black commander. Connecticut put a Black regiment -- ``The Attucks Company'' -- in the field under the leadership of Captain David Humphreys. Rhode Island's Black regiment called itself ``The Rhode Island Black Company'' which served under Col. Jeremiah Olney and later under Col. Christopher Greene. In the Battle of Rhode Island on August 29, 1778, the Black regiment ``distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor.''

The vast majority of Black soldiers served in fighting units made up primarily of white men. Between 1775 and 1781, there was scarcely a military action that did not include Black participation. They were at Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Bennington, Brandywine, Stillwater, Bemis Heights, Saratoga, Red Bank, Monmouth, Rhode Island, Savannah, Stony Point, Ft. Griswold, Eutaw Spings, and Yorktown.

Many Blacks, by their outstanding service, won recognition from their peers. Two such Black soldiers were Prince Whipple and Oliver Cromwell who were with General Washington when he crossed the Delaware on Christmas Day, 1776. Tack Sisson, by crashing the door with his head, facilitated the capture of British General Richard Prescott at Newport, Rhode Island, July 9, 1777. In the same year, Lemuel Haynes, who was later to become a distinguished minister in white churches, joined in the expedition to Ticonderoga to stop the inroads of Burgoyne's northern army. The victory of Anthony Wayne at Stony Point in 1779 was made possible by the spying of a Black soldier named Pompey. At the seige of Savannah in 1779, more than 700 free Blacks were with the French forces that helped save the day. Among the wounded soliders was Christophe, who was later to play an important role in the liberation of Haiti.

There are were also many instances of Blacks serving in the Navy during the War for Independence. Having piloted vessels in the coastal waters before the war, their services were eagerly accepted during the dark days of the Revolution. They were able and ordinary seamen, pilots, boatswain's mates, and gunner's mates. They were among the crews of the coastal galleys that defended Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Dr. Luther P. Jackson called attention to the service of Virginia Blacks in The Navy of the Revolution. He pointed out that Black sailors fought on the Patriot, Liberty, Tempest, Dragon, Diligence, and many other vessels, and indicates that some were enlisted for as many as ten or 11 years. At 14 years of age James Forten, a powder-boy on Stephen Decatur's Royal Louis, participated in victories over several English vessels. Later, when he was captured and offered a home in England, he refused on the grounds that he felt he should suffer the prisoner's lot in the cause of independence and to do less would be to betray his country.

By the end of the struggle for colonial independence, the revolutionary philosophy was so powerful and pervasive that almost every state enlisting slaves to serve in the army either freed them at the outset or promised manumission -- freedom -- at the end of their service. The records of the states abound with documentation of the manumission of Black soliders and their families. While the number is inexact, one can conclude that hundreds, if not thousands, of slaves secured their freedom at the end of the war.

## The Importance of the Knowledge of Black Patriotism

The history of America is rich in ethnic and cultural diversity. This richness has not always been promoted by the public schools, the media, and other American institutions. Textbooks and other instructional material in the schools continue to lack accurate information on the achievements and contributions of ethnic minorities and women and often present false images to our children of particular ethnic groups. For this reason NEA supports cultural diversity in instructional materials as a way of helping students become knowledgeable of the cultural diversity of this country and develop pride in their own cultural legacy. This organizational philosophy transfers quite easily to support the erection of a memorial to commemorate the important contributions of the Black Revolutionary patriots. Given their numbers and their social, political, and economic constraints, the war effort of undistinguished Black soldiers was significant, and that there should be martyrs, heroes, and heroines within their ranks is phenomenal indeed.

It is an unfortunate fact of history that many Blacks who served in the American Revolution are remembered only as unknown soldiers. Last year Robert Greene published a book entitled Black Courage in which he documented the service of Blacks who fought in the American Revolution. This publication is an excellent source of information on Black patriots who filed for pensions, but does not reflect the full participation of Blacks in that war effort. Because the majority of Black soldiers had names that were similar to their Euro-American compartriots, they could not be readily identified for inclusion in the National Archives 1974 list of Black Revolutionary War servicemen. One man whose name does not appear on the list is Peter Williams, who was confiscated by New Jersey from the estate of a British loyalist and set free. Another man whose backgroiund is typical of Black Revolutionary War servicemen is Adam Pierce, a resident of Cumberland Countyr, N.J., who served in the Revolutionary War for almost a year in 1778. These and scores of other Black men served this country bravely and should be honored.

The patriotism of the 5,000 Black soldiers and the service of other Blacks who offered their lives for this country is a fact of American history which must be made public. NEA believes an important first step in that direction is the erection of a memorial to these men and women in our nation's capital. What makes that event doubly significant is the willingness of these individuals to commit themselves in the blind hope that the leaders of a country that had enslaved them, bought and sold them as chattel, and assessed their human value as only three-fifths of a Euro-American would grant them freedom at the end of the war. All they had to do was secure victory for colonial America and survive war. This was no small task.

## The Significance of ``A Place of Remembrance''

The NEA believes it is particularly fitting that a memorial be erected in Washington, D.C., to honor Black patriots for their prodigious contribution to the Revolutionary War effort. While many Euro-American patriots served their country faithfully and well, the contribution of Blacks was exemplary not only because many emerged as heroes in combat, but because they had to do battle in their hearts and in their heads before they picked up their bayonets to fight the British. Intellectually, they knew what their reality was -- enslavement. Why should they fight to preserve their own captivity? Would their owners allow them freedom if America won her independence from British rule? Emotionally, they no doubt experienced a curious kind of loyalty to the land and great optimism for what might become their new reality. The promise of freedom was certainly worth fighting for, and for many, death did not seem objectionable.

Against this backdrop of human emotion, Blacks -- slave and free -- were willing to serve in the American Revolution. The building of a memorial in their honor pales in recognition of their enormous sacrifice and commitment. But what the memorial will achieve is quite significant: acknowledge the contribution of Blacks in securing American independence. The NEA, therefore, enthusiastically supports the erection of a memorial to honor Black American Revolutionary War patriots.

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**HOWARD UNIVERSITY**
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20059

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

October 25, 1985

Senator Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Sub-Committee on Public Lands,
Reserved Water & Resource Conservation
Dirksen Sanate Office Building, #358
Washington, D.C. 20510

Honorable Wallop:

On June 13, 1985, I had the privilege of testifying before the United States Congress, Task Force on Libraries and Memorials, on behalf of H. J. Resolution 142, passage of which would permit a memorial to be established in Washington, D.C. to honor the nearly 5,000 Blacks who served in the American Revolution.

Views of various individuals and interest groups were presented: Maurice Barboza and Lena Ferguson recognized Black son and daughter of the American Revolution who inspired and lobbied for the resolution; members of the House and Senate, including, among others, Charles Rangel, Parren Mitchell and Albert Gore; noted historian Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Ira Berlin and Charles Blockson; Dr. Betty Collier Thomas, Director, Bethune Museum, and many others.

My presentation was made to represent the National Council for Black Family and Child Development (NCBFCD), an organization devoted to promoting Black family development, unity, and pride in our heritage.

Now more than ever before, Black families need a concrete example of a meaningful nexus to America: to learn if they did not know before that their ancestors made a significant contribution to this country which is recognized and valued. In other words, like other ethnic Americans, while they are far from the Motherland, they are indeed home, they belong here.

This memorial will inspire Black families to embrace this responsibility to be, as their ancestors during the American Revolution, brave, steadfast, determined to survive, and willing to participate in their own survival.

Kindly include my testimony in the record of testimony events to be presented on Tuesday, October 29, 1985 at your hearing.

Respectfully,

Portia H. Shields

Portia H. Shields, Ph.D. (enc)
Associate Professor, Education
Howard University

## Hearing on H.J. Res. 142

H.J. Res. 142, A Bill to Authorize the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to Establish a Memorial on Federal Land in The District of Columbia, at an Appropriate Site in Constitution Gardens, to Honor the More Than 5,000 Courageous Slaves and Free Black Persons Who Gave of Themselves During the American Revolution

### Introduction

On June 13, 1985, I had the privilege of testifying before the United States Congress, Task Force on Libraries and Memorials, on behalf of H. J. Resolution 142, passage of which would permit a memorial to be established in Washington, D. C. to honor the nearly 5,000 Blacks who served in the American Revolution.

Views of various individuals and interest groups were presented: Maurice Barboza and Lena Ferguson recognized Black son and daughter of the American Revolution who inspired and lobbied for the resolution; members of the House and Senate, including, among others, Charles Rangel, Parren Mitchel and Albert Gore; noted historian Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Ira Berlin and Charles Blockson; Dr. Betty Collier Thomas, Director, Bethune Museum, and many others.

My presentation was made to represent the National Council for Black Family and Child Development (NCBFCD), an organization devoted to promoting Black family development, unity, and pride in our heritage.

My testimony today addresses the positive impact that this planned memorial can make upon all but especially Black families. Nearly all Black families are painfully aware of the neglectful, if not intentional, policy of denigrating their status in the United States--from the disregard of human life during slavery and the post Civil War period--to having to walk miles to inferior schools, if available, while whites rode to tax financed superior ones. We were relegated to picking cotton and chopping tobacco for a mere subsistance wage, unable to vote, sit in a movie theatre, ride a bus or eat at the counter in a ten-cent store. Blacks were unable to "officially" fight for America and when that right to die for Her was reluctantly granted, they returned, many as heroes, only to be subjected to the indignity of continued racism.

Black children and their parents may not have read the latest report from the Children's Defense Fund which chronicled the fact that over the past 5 years, Blacks have lost ground in employment, earning power, and education. They, however, witness, perhaps in their very own neighborhoods, the rise in female-headed households; teenage pregnancy, joblessness, poverty and the resulting distruction upon the family unit.

This cancerous phenomenon was impervious to the glorious triumphs, heroic deeds of Blacks - those who served in the American Revolution. Because of a system that magnifies our estrangement from the American mainstream rather than equitably acknowledges that our American roots run as deep as those Americans whose ancestors boarded the Mayflower, Blacks are unaware of and alienated from this era. That Blacks, both slave and free, fought valiantly for the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness for themselves, their families, and even for their masters has gone unnoticed.

Today it is difficult for many Black families to conceptualize Jesse Jackson's popular slogan: "I am somebody", because they lack the role models in their communities. Models outside their immediate environments are perceived to be nongermane to their dilemma. You see, almost half of us live outside the traditional family structure.

According to the 1980 Census, the fastest growing minority in the United States, Asian Americans, are better educated, have higher earning power and lower unemployment than whites. To what do they attribute their success? Strong family ties (The family is everything) and the emergence of successful role models.

On the one hand, Black families are admonished to stay together as a viable unit, but daily they observe families in various stages of deterioration. On the other, they are promised that if they remain in school and get a good education, they'll gain entry into the elusive mainstream. Blacks, however, see limited numbers achieving this goal or receiving this expected reward.

Perhaps now, as experts grapple for ways to relieve this debilitating stress which affects all families, but blacks most, is an opportune time to introduce black family role models -- men, women and children -- who participated in The Revolution.

Enslaved without family, they served the only one they knew, the masters. If slaves were separated from their kinfolk, they fought for the promise of freedom for their relatives. If free, they defended their land and the safety of family members just as their white counterparts. Black and white families fought side-by-side, enduring grave danger, to preserve the family unit. This all families need to know.

Teachers, most critical to the educational development of young children, hear platitudes about developing pride and self-awareness to promote learning but receive precious little direction to inculcate these values in Black children. Education experts decry the importance of youngsters being able to identify themselves in books. Yet of the 25 publications written for children and young adults on as important period as the American Revolution, few before 1960 contained even pictures of black patriots. Fewer still made reference when pictures of blacks were included.

A Black memorial will inextricably bind the historical account of family unity in troubled times for Americans with a story virtually heretofore untold.

We are familiar with the irony of Crispus Attucks, the first to die in the Boston Massacre, one of the major events leading to the War. But now, thanks to Lerone Bennett, Sidney Kaplan, Benjamin Quarles, Florence and J. B. Jackson, to name a few, we meet Peter Salem, Salem Poor, Lemuel Haynes, Samuel Craft, and many, many more. Now we know that there were Black Minutemen, black Green Mountain Boys, Blacks at Lexington, Blacks at Concord, Blacks at Bunker Hill, Yorktown, and the Battle of Rhode Island, some of whom earned their freedom and land so they could provide for the well-being of their families. We can share with black families that in addition to identified black heroes, there were at least 5,000 other role models in The Revolution. To be sure, some were soldiers, sailors, and spies but blacks performed gallantly in other critical roles: felling trees to obstruct enemy advance, building fortifications, transporting munitions and supplies, repairing roads, and doing an array of other supporting tasks.

Whether or not history books portray blacks performing these deeds in picture and story is currently subject to whim and care of author, illustrator, or publisher. A memorial, however, canonizes the contributions of Blacks in the Revolution and will remain in perpertuity for all parents to share with their children and will motivate teachers to include the roles played by Blacks as well as whites in their lessons.

In 1985, Blacks are as far from the family traditions of their African ancestors as they are from the "American Dream". A monument to Black patriots, to be sure, will not, in itself, reverse this situation, nor will welfare, or the few limited job training programs which some hail as remedies.

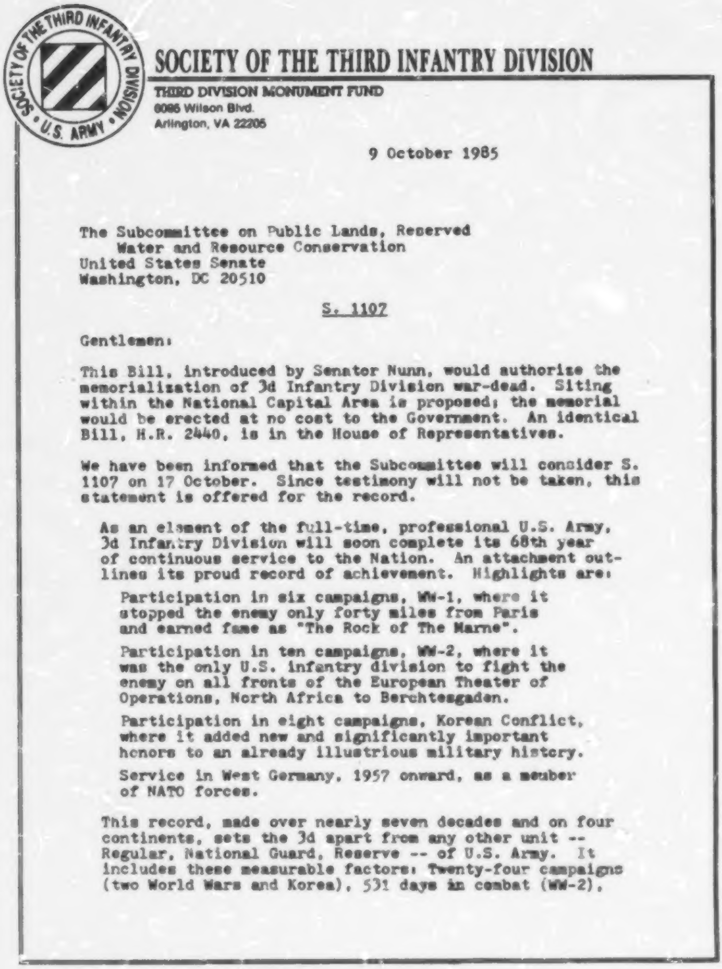
Nevertheless, now more than before, Black families need a concrete example of a meaningful nexus to America: to learn if they did not know before that their ancestors made a significant contribution to this country which is recognized and valued. In other words, like other ethnic Americans, while they are far from the Motherland, they are indeed home, they belong here.

Most importantly, it must be promulgated that, as their ancestors fought for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as early as 1775, so also must they continue in 1985, for the struggle is not over. As Eleanor Holmes Norton said recently of the black family needs, "Most important is passing on the enduring values that form the central content of the Black American heritage: hard work, education, respect for family and, notwithstanding the denial of personal opportunity, achieving a better life for one's children." This memorial will inspire Black families to embrace this responsibility to be, as their ancestors during the American Revolution, brave, steadfast, determined to survive, and willing to participate in their own survival.

This memorial symbolizes a reuniting of Black families with their forefathers in what was, and is, clearly a continuing struggle, but also in their many triumphs as well. It will demonstrate that the Government of the United States respects and appreciates these valiant efforts. Hopefully, it also will encourage the Government and the private sector to join with other black advocacy groups in developing and sponsoring effective programs to assist Black families as they help themselves towards the promise of America--a better life, a greater sense of liberty, and ultimate happiness.

End Notes:

The National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) recently published a list of Black patriots who served in the Revolution and on July 4, 1985, Barboza and Ferguson led several thousand people from DAR Hall to the proposed site of the memorial near the Lincoln Memorial, in further support for this project.



SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION
THIRD DIVISION MONUMENT FUND
6085 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, VA 22205

9 October 1985

The Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved
Water and Resource Conservation
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

S. 1107

Gentlemen:

This Bill, introduced by Senator Nunn, would authorize the memorialization of 3d Infantry Division war-dead. Siting within the National Capital Area is proposed; the memorial would be erected at no cost to the Government. An identical Bill, H.R. 2440, is in the House of Representatives.

We have been informed that the Subcommittee will consider S. 1107 on 17 October. Since testimony will not be taken, this statement is offered for the record.

> As an element of the full-time, professional U.S. Army, 3d Infantry Division will soon complete its 68th year of continuous service to the Nation. An attachment outlines its proud record of achievement. Highlights are:
>
> > Participation in six campaigns, WW-1, where it stopped the enemy only forty miles from Paris and earned fame as "The Rock of The Marne".
> >
> > Participation in ten campaigns, WW-2, where it was the only U.S. infantry division to fight the enemy on all fronts of the European Theater of Operations, North Africa to Berchtesgaden.
> >
> > Participation in eight campaigns, Korean Conflict, where it added new and significantly important honors to an already illustrious military history.
> >
> > Service in West Germany, 1957 onward, as a member of NATO forces.
>
> This record, made over nearly seven decades and on four continents, sets the 3d apart from any other unit -- Regular, National Guard, Reserve -- of U.S. Army. It includes these measurable factors: Twenty-four campaigns (two World Wars and Korea), 531 days in combat (WW-2),

leading roles in four WW-2 invasion operations (North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Southern France), fifty-three Medal of Honor awards (three wars), 51,456 battle casualties (three wars).

In our view, all war-dead deserve memorialization. Related questions are, "Where?" and "How?"

Addressing these issues:

- National Guard and Reserve components, U.S. Army, have regional or state bases. Units of Regular Army, 3d Infantry Division included, do not.
- Between overseas assignments, 3d Infantry Division has been stationed in seven states. None of them are particularly relevant to its history and traditions.
- Lacking association with a particular region or state, war-dead of 3d Infantry Division, and those of other Regular Army units as well, are most appropriately memorialized within the National Capital Area.
- There is precedent for this treatment. Three Regular Army units -- 1st Infantry Division, 2d Infantry Division, 101st Airborne Division -- have long honored their war-dead by impressive memorials sited within the National Capital Area.
- We seek this same privilege. Our dead deserve it.
- When having statutory authority to do so, the Society, by commitment and resources, is prepared to erect a suitable 3d Infantry Division memorial at no cost to the Government.

We hope for your support of S. 1107, first in the Subcommittee meeting, 17 October, and then in later Senate action on this measure. We earnestly seek it.

Sincerely,

Lloyd B. Ramsey

Lloyd B. Ramsey
Major General, U.S. Army, Retired
Chairman

cc : Subcommittee Members

**SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION**

THIRD DIVISION MONUMENT FUND
6095 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, VA 22205

18 October 1985

Mr. Tony Bevinetto, Staff Director
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved
Water and Resource Conservation
United States Senate
Room 308, Dirksen Building
Washington, DC 20510

S. 1107

Dear Mr. Bevinetto:

This follows-up phone conversations of 9 and 16 October, both relating to Subcommittee consideration of S. 1107.

Attachments to this note respond to your invitation to submit a statement for the record of these proceedings. We thank you for the opportunity to do so. Use at an appropriate time is requested.

Sincerely,

Lloyd B. Ramsey

Lloyd B. Ramsey
Major General, U.S. Army, Retired
Chairman

Attachments:

Resolution, Annual Reunion-Convention, 1985
Fact Sheet, 3d Infantry Division, U.S. Army

SOCIETY OF THE THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION

## FACT SHEET, 3d INFANTRY DIVISION, U.S. ARMY

Regular Army. Continuous service from 17 November 1917.

Overseas service in both World Wars and the Korean Conflict.

- Participation in six campaigns, WW-1, where it stopped the enemy only forty miles from Paris and earned fame as "The Rock Of The Marne."
- Participation in ten campaigns, WW-2, where it had a leading role in four invasion operations (North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Southern France), and was the only U.S. infantry division to fight the enemy on all fronts of the European Theater of Operations, Casablanca to Berchtesgaden.
- Participation in eight campaigns, Korean Conflict, where it added new and significantly important honors to an already illustrious military history.
- Fifty-three Medal of Honor awards.

NATO service in West Germany, 1957 onward.

Summary enclosed.

## 3d INFANTRY DIVISION, U.S. ARMY

CREDITS

World War I : 27 May 1918 - 11 November 1918

Campaigns : Aisne
Champagne-Marne
Champagne
Aisne-Marne
St. Mihiel
Meuse-Argonne

Killed in action : 2,637
Wounded in action: 12,764
Died of wounds : 764

Overseas : April 1918 - August 1919*

Medal of Honor awards : 2

World War II : 8 November 1942 - 8 May 1945

Campaigns : Algeria - French Morocco
Tunisia
Sicily
Naples-Foggia
Anzio
Rome-Arno
Southern France
Rhineland
Ardennes-Alsace
Central Europe

Killed in action : 4,922
Wounded in action: 18,766
Missing in action: 2,729
Died of wounds : 636

Battle Casualties : 25,977
Non-Battle Casualties : 46,506

Overseas : November 1942 - September 1946*

Medal of Honor awards : 40

Korea : 3 November 1950 - 27 July 1953

Campaigns : CCF Intervention
First UN Counteroffensive
CCF Spring Offensive
UN Summer-Fall Offensive
Second Korean Winter
Korea Summer-Fall, 1952
Third Korean Winter
Korea Summer, 1953

Killed in action : 1,657
Wounded in action: 7,939
Died of wounds : 186

Overseas : September 1950 - October 1954

Medal of Honor awards : 11

West Germany, NATO, 1957-Present

*Includes Army of Occupation duty

The Society of the 3d Infantry Division, U.S. Army, assembled in Annual Reunion-Convention at The Holiday Inn, International Airport, Tampa, Florida, 26-30 September 1985, adopted the following

## R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS, the Government of the United States has a long and ennobling history of honoring its war-dead; and

WHEREAS, respectful memorialization of 3d Infantry Division dead from two World Wars and the Korean Conflict is clearly consistent with this policy and practice; and

WHEREAS, they deserve to be and are not memorialized in the National Capital Area; and

WHEREAS, two measures now pending in the 99th Congress, S. 1107 and H.R. 2440, can satisfy this need at no cost to the Government; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Society, recognized by the U.S. Government as "a national, non-profit, patriotic veterans' organization" and open to all who have contributed, are or will be contributing, to the 3d Infantry Division's proud and unparalleled record of nearly seventy years' continuous distinguished service on four continents, petition the 99th Congress for early enactment of legislative proposals identified in this document;

AND FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Society, which includes members from virtually all fifty states, present a copy of this Resolution to each Member of the 99th Congress as an expression of broad-based constituent interest in these measures.

The Resolution was unanimously approved.

CERTIFIED CORRECT:

Lewis T Conant

Lewis T. Conant
Major, U.S. Army (Retired)
Secretary-Treasurer

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS AND RESERVED WATER
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

The American Battle Monuments Commission wishes to thank you for the opportunity to present its views on S.1223, a bill to erect a national memorial on federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs, honoring members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean War, particularly those who were killed in action, listed as missing in action, or were held as prisoners of war. The Veterans of that war commend you for holding this hearing, as it has been thirty-five long years since the unprovoked attack in force by the North Koreans across the 38th Parallel on 25 June 1950. If the 5,000,000 veterans of that war who are still living and the immediate members of the families of those who died in Korea are going to have an opportunity to view for themselves this nation's appreciation of their service, their achievements and most of all their sacrifices, then erection of a memorial should commence without delay.

A few statistics to put the Korean War into perspective — 5,720,000 Americans served in the military forces during the three-year period of the Korean War (1950-1953). Of that number, 103,000 were wounded and of the wounded 33,600 died; an additional 21,400 died of non-battle causes for a total of 55,000 service deaths in the Korean War. During the ten-year period of the Vietnam War, there were only three thousand more service deaths. This will give you some idea of the intensity of the fighting in Korea during its relatively short duration.

Title 36, Section 123 of the U.S. Code prescribes in part that the "American Battle Monuments Commission shall prepare plans and estimates for the erection of suitable memorials to commemorate the services of the American Armed Forces, and shall erect and maintain memorials in the United States and at such places outside the United States where the American Armed Forces have served since April 6, 1917 or shall hereafter serve, as the Commission shall determine." Accordingly, the Commission has had a Korean War Memorial high on its list of planned projects for a number of years. Unfortunately, the great cost of the Vietnam War and subsequent budget deficits mitigated against appropriation of the necessary funds.

In this regard, Title 36, section 128 of the U.S. Code states in part that "The (American Battle Monuments) Commission is authorized to receive funds from any state, municipal, or private source for the purposes of Sections 121, 122b, 123 to 125, 127, 128, 131, 132 and 138-138b of this title, and such funds shall be deposited with the Treasurer of the United States and shall be kept by him in separate accounts and shall be disbursed upon vouchers approved by the Chairman of the Commission." It is the Commission's strong belief that a federal agency should erect the Korean War Memorial with funds obtained through private donations and appropriations. This would preclude the major portion of funds collected through private donations going to a commercial firm hired for that purpose, as was the case with the Vietnam Memorial. During the past few months, the American Battle Monuments Commission has received 55 unsolicited donations for the erection of a Korean War Memorial, for a total of $1,455.00. If for any reason this Commission does not erect the memorial, then the money will be returned to the donors.

Regardless of whether the Korean War Memorial is built with privately donated funds, appropriated funds, or a combination of both, should you and your distinguished colleages so determine, the American Battle Monuments Commission would be most honored and privileged to be designated the agency authorized to erect the memorial.

Thank you again for the opportunity to present the Commission's views.

aei
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5800
Telex: 671-1239

October 29, 1985

The Honorable
Malcolm Wallop
Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands,
Reserved Water and Resource Conservation
Room 308, Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

Please let me add my voice to those who have urged passage of S.1379, proposing the erection of a Moroccan monument on Federal grounds in Washington.

I think it would be an appropriate commemoration of the history of our unique relationship. As you know, Morocco was the first nation to recognize us, and our 1787 Treaty of Peace and Friendship is our longest running essentially uninterrupted accord with any country.

A monument to U.S. - Moroccan peace and friendship would serve as an important reminder of our long, uninterrupted relationship with the Kingdom of Morocco.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE

PORTLAND
STATE
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P.O. BOX 751
PORTLAND, OREGON
97207
503/229-3921

September 25, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop
Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water,
and Resource Conservation
Room 308
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

I am a specialist on North African politics and international relations, with a particular focus on Morocco and that country's foreign relations. I have followed Moroccan affairs for twenty years, and I wrote my Ph.D. thesis on Morocco. Since 1971, I have written a book and some twenty articles that deal in whole or in part with Morocco. My work has included both academic scholarship and teaching and a tour of duty in Washington as a foreign affairs analyst for North Africa at the Department of State from 1975 to 1977.

I am writing to request that a statement of my views be included in the record of your hearings on S.1379 for the reasons presented in the following paragraphs. I would like to urge enactment of this legislation authorizing placement of a monument to U.S.-Moroccan relations.

Contemporary relations between the U.S. and the Kingdom of Morocco are quite good. These relations have not been compromised in any significant way by Morocco's signature of a treaty of union with Libya in August 1984. That treaty has not affected the interests which the U.S. has in Morocco. These interests derive from two basic factors: Morocco's strategic geographic location at the western end of the Mediterranean Sea and the Kingdom's moderate orientation in regional and world affairs. The combination of these two factors is the basis of an important community of interests shared by the U.S. and Morocco.

Morocco controls the southern approach to the Strait of Gibraltar, a fact that is often taken for granted in the West. Because of the Kingdom's strategic position at the mouth of the Mediterranean, the U.S. has a vested interest in a friendly government in Morocco. Fortunately for the U.S., the government of King Hassan II is quite friendly to us, and military cooperation between the two countries has increased in important ways during the last several years. In May 1982, the U.S. and Morocco concluded an agreement that allows American military planes to use two Moroccan air bases during emergencies in the Middle East and Africa. That same year, the two countries set up a joint military commission, that met most recently in Washington in July. Moroccan ports have been generally open to visits by ships of our Sixth Fleet for a number of years. In addition, Morocco allows the U.S. free movement for nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships in and out of its ports. Since the establishment of the joint military commission in 1982, U.S. and Moroccan forces have held joint maneuvers. In April 1983, for example, Moroccan forces engaged in joint exercises with aircraft from U.S. Navy units based in Europe. Subsequent joint military drills were held in the summer of 1984 and January 1985.

. In addition to this important military cooperation, Morocco and the U.S. tend to line up on the same side of a broad spectrum of international political issues. Morocco has consistently condemned, for example, the Soviet Union's brutal 1979 invasion of Muslim Afghanistan. Morocco and the U.S. share much the same assessment of the destabilizing potental in Africa of the Soviet Union and Cuba. Morocco's opposition to the spread of Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa has gone beyond official pronouncements and votes in international forums. Morocco has supplied training and weapons to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the moderate faction that continues to contest the control of the Cuban-backed Marxist government (the MPLA) in Angola. In both April 1977 and May 1978, King Hassan dispatched fifteen hundred Moroccan troops who proved effective in helping to repel invasisons of Zaire's mineral-rich Shaba province by Angola-based rebels.

Our government values Morocco's pragmatic approach to Middle East issues and its commitment to a negotiated solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. King Hassan was quite supportive, at least initially, of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's peace initiative. Morocco hosted a secret meeting in September 1977 between Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Hassan Tuhami that helped pave the way for Sadat's historic trip to Jerusalem two months later. King Hassan received Sadat in Morocco following the 1978 Camp David negotiations. Morocco then supported the Camp David accords before falling in line with the general Arab condemnation of the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

In our government's view, King Hassan has worked constructively in his capacities as chairman of the Arab summit, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and, since 1979, the OIC's Higher Committee for the Liberation of Jerusalem. At the Arab League summit that he chaired in September 1982, for example, King Hassan played an important role in the summit's adoption of the Fez Charter, the first comprehinsive Arab peace plan, which implicitly recognized Israel's right to exist. At the OIC summit meeting in Casablanca in January 1984, King Hassan lobbied, successfully, for the readmission of Egypt--an important ally of the U.S.--to the Islamic grouping. And in August of this year, Hassan presided over the readmission of Egypt to the Arab Sports Union, in a tentative move toward welcoming Egypt back into full membership in the Arab League.

Almost alone in the Arab world, Morocco has taken concrete steps to improve relations with the Jewish community both within the country and abroad. King Hassan has made clear his determination to provide protection to Moroccan Jews during Arab-Israeli crises. The Moroccan Government has encouraged any Jews of Moroccan origin who want to return from Israel to do so. In May 1984, the Moroccan Government received a high-level delegations of 35 Israelis, including 11 members of parliament, to attend a congress of Jews of Moroccan origin. This marked the first time since the founding of the Jewish state in 1948 that an Arab state other than Egypt has received an official Israeli delegation. And in 1985, the King allowed Moroccan Jews to take the initiative in organizing a world conference of Jews, to be held outside of Morocco sometime in 1986.

Sincerely,

John Damis

John Damis
Professor

AVAILABLE

THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

October 31, 1985

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing you in support of legislation before your Subcommittee to authorize the erection on Federal land of a monument to be given the American people as a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco. Senator McClure has introduced this legislation (S. 1379) in response to correspondence from King Hassan II to President Reagan making the gift as a symbol of two hundred years of U.S.-Moroccan peace and friendship. I hope this Subcommittee and the Congress will see fit to approve S. 1379.

My professional career has been blessed by frequent contacts with the Kingdom of Morocco beginning in 1942 with my participation in Operation Torch as a member of the Allied landing force in North Africa. While I was based near Rabat, I had the honor of meeting the then-13-year old Crown Prince of Morocco. He is today King Hassan II, and I am honored by his continuing counsel and friendship.

During my 40 year-long association with Morocco and its people, I have often reflected upon the historical roots of the strong ties between our two nations. Moroccan support for the U.S. at the very birth of our nation came at a time when other states were reluctant to give us such straightforward encouragement and recognition. After establishing independence it became essential that the U.S. engage in foreign commerce in order to develop our economy. Morocco's assistance in protecting our shipping interests in the Mediterranean was indeed welcomed.

In the nineteenth century, one of America's first initiatives as a world power was to formulate an "Open Door" policy in Morocco. Throughout the French presence there, the Moroccan people remained eager to direct their own affairs. The United States was sympathetic to this yearning for independence and sought to keep open and direct U.S. tiest with Morocco.

During World War II, the American-Moroccan partnership grew even stronger. Morocco was pleased with the Allied landings on its shores and quickly joined the push against the Axis powers in North Africa. I witnessed Moroccan fighting alongside ours in Italy, and they were extraordinarily gallant soldiers. Not long after World War II Moroccan's again fought beside Americans, this time in Korea. Independence finally became a reality for Morocco in 1956 and King Mohammed V was restored as head-of-state. King Hassan II has continued to rule in the wise manner of his father and has shown extraordinary strength in several crises during his reign. Today Morocco is one of the African continent's strongest proponents of democratic institutions in theory and practice, with an opposition press and religious tolerance. Our shared respect for the inherent values of freedom has made us firm allies and fast friends.

King Hassan's give to the United States is indeed a fine tribute to this historically unique and enduring nation-to-nation friendship, and I believe it is proper that such a monument be placed in our Capital City at a location reflecting its importance. Thus, I would like to urge that favorable consideration be given S. 1379.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Vernon A. Walters

Vernon A. Walters

The Honorable
Malcolm Wallop
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public
Lands, Reserved Water and
Resource Conservation

cc: The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State

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**TANGIER AMERICAN LEGATION MUSEUM SOCIETY**
3282 N STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

October 28, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Land, Reserved Water
and Resource Conservation,
Room 308 Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop,

I am writing to urge the passage of S. 1379, to authorize the erection of a monument given to the American people as a gift of the Kingdom of Morocco on public grounds in the District of Columbia. Senator McClure introduced this proposed legislation in response to the offer made by King Hassan II of Morocco.

The Tangier American Legation Museum Society is a public non-profit corporation in the District of Columbia which conducts the operation of the former American Legation at Tangier, Morocco as an historic preservation entity and as a monument to the long standing close and friendly relations which have existed between Morocco and the United States. The Legation building, as you probably know, is the only National Historic Landmark located outside the United States. It was a gift to the United States in 1821 from the Sultan of Morocco and has been the location of one of our oldest diplomatic establishments until 1976 when it was converted to a museum as a part of our bicentenial celebration of the founding of our republic. Authorizing the establishment of a monument to Moroccan-American friendship would be a fitting reciprocation of the Sultan's gift of about one hundred and seventy-five years ago and of King Hassan II's concurrence in the establishment of our Museum in 1976.

The close association between our two countries began with the support given by the Kingdom of Morocco to the American colonies during and after its struggle for independence. These close and friendly relations have continued through the years during which there have been many historic events and tie-ins between our two countries, some of the most recent of which have been the planning for the landings in North Africa and the operation of strategic deterrence during the Cold War. Its government maintains many of the basic ideals which we hold and stand strongly in the maintenance of freedom and liberty. For these reasons it would be most suitable to have a monument in this country to Moroccan-American Friendship.

Sincerely yours

Wynant D. Vanderpool

Wynant D. Vanderpool, President

*THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY*
*BOLOGNA CENTER*

*SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES*

*VIA BELMELORO, 11*
*40126 BOLOGNA, ITALY*

1 Oct 1985

The Hon. Malcolm Wallop
Chair, Subcommittee on Public Lands
Dirksen Senate Office Building, rm 308
Washington DC 20510

attn: Mr Tony Bevinetto

Dear Congressman Wallop:

As the United States enters its third century as a model of domestic governance, it also begins to have longstanding models of international peace and cooperation to show the world. The oldest of these is the 200-year-old regime of formal cordial relations between Morocco and the US. Two centuries ago, a major monarchy on the shores of the Mediterranean offered its recognition and support to our new republic; today, the leading democracy and strongest superpower extends its help and support to a developing constitutional monarchy of the Third World. In World War II, American troops liberated Morocco from Axis control and President Roosevelt provided timely impetus for the Moroccan movement toward independence. In the recent decades, Morocco has come to the support of the United States in implementing common foreign policy goals in Africa and the Middle East. The uninterrupted centuries of peace and cooperation between our two countries deserve recognition and commemoration, so that both we and others may be reminded that harmony and cooperation are possible over long periods of time even between countries of very different political and social systems. It would therefore seem fully fitting and appropriate, and worthy of your support, to provide for the siting of a monument to this relationship on federal land in the District of Columbia. I would hope that such a tangible reminder can be established, not only to mark a historical record but even more to inspire future efforts to build a world of cooperation and understanding.

Sincerely,

I William Zartman
Professor of International Politics
former President, Middle East Studies Association
President, American Institute of Maghribi Studies

TELEPHONE: 23.21.85/6/7/8/9 · TELEX: 511339 · CENTRO JH · CABLE ADDRESS: CENTRO JHU · BOLOGNA

Moroccan-American Foundation

October 15, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water
  and Resource Conservation
Room 308, Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As the President of the Moroccan-American Foundation and as President Carter's Ambassador to Morocco, I would like to offer my support for legislation pending before your Subcommittee (S.1379) which would a[redacted]on. I feel that such a monument commemorating 200 years of Moroccan-American relations is an appropriate manner in which to honor the importance of those ties.

Morocco's recognition in 1777 of a fledgling nation called the United States of America was both a noble action and a bold act. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship proclaimed in 1787 gave timely credibility to our sovereign status as we emerged from the difficulties of the Revolutionary War to become a new power on the world stage.

President George Washington and other Founding Fathers were thus given reassurance that their reluctant, yet necessary severance from Great Britain would not meet with universal condemnation. Since that date, the Kingdom has remained a special friend and valued ally of our nation.

My service as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco from 1979-1981 only confirms my warm feelings toward its people, culture and leaders. The desire of His Majesty King Hassan II to commemorate that signal event by the gift of a monument to be placed in our Nation's Capital has my heartiest support and strongest endorsement.

Respectfully submitted,

Angier Biddle Duke

Angier Biddle Duke
President and Chief Executive Officer
Moroccan-American Foundation

200 Park Avenue, Suite 303 East, New York, New York 10166 Telephone 212/953-9024

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Rabat, Morocco

October 2, 1985

Honorable Malcolm Wallop
Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands,
Reserved Water and Resource Conservation
Room 308
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop:

Enclosed please find a copy of a brief statement concerning Moroccan-American relations which I wish to be entered into the record of your Subcommittee's hearings on the proposed gift of a monument from the Kingdom of Morocco to the United States on the 200th anniversary of the treaty of peace and friendship between our nations.

As I have said in the enclosed statement, the relations between Morocco and the United States are crucial to our national interest, and I believe that the proposed monument will be a fitting memorial to this relationship.

I am grateful to you for scheduling hearings on this issue, and for the time and attention which you have devoted to it.

Cordially yours,

Thomas A. Nassif
Ambassador

## STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR NASSIF TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, RESERVED WATER, AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION

Mr. Chairman:

Your Committee is considering the erection of a monument to celebrate 200 years of Moroccan-American friendship, a truly amazing record in the history not only of our nation but in the history of international relations as well.

Moroccan-American friendship, which this monument seeks to commemorate, remains a strong and dependable factor in our relations not only with the countries of the Maghreb but with those of the Middle East as well.

The construction of a new VOA station in Tangier, which when it is completed will be the largest relay station in the non-Communist world, the large scale program of joint military exercises, and the concluding of a number of agreements to promote bilateral trade and investment, bear remarkable witness to the fact that Morocco and the United States have made the determination that strengthening our relations is in the national interest of both our nations.

Morocco's strategic location on the southern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar combined with its long coastlines on both the Atlantic and Mediterranean seaboards make it of supreme strategic importance, not only to the United States but to our European allies as well. In addition, King Hassan's moderating role in Arab and Islamic Councils, his Chairmanship of the Jerusalem Committee, and his willingness to take initiatives for peace have made him a respected voice for negotiation and conciliation in international affairs.

The people of our two nations are today perpetuating a crucial and historic relationship. This monument will be an appropriate memorial and tribute to the past and future of this friendship.

RICHARD B. STONE
ATTORNEY

October , 1985

The Honorable
Malcolm Wallop
Chairman, Subcommittee on
  Public Lands, Reserved Water
  and Resource Conservation
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator ~~Wallop~~ Malcolm:

As a member of the Moroccan/American Foundation's Executive Board and a long-time friend of the Kingdom of Morocco, may I submit this statement in support of S. 1379.

The gift of a monument by Morocco to the people of the United States symbolizes to me not only the 200th anniversary of peace and cooperation between the United States and the Kingdom of Morocco but also the moderation and constructive purpose of the policy of Morocco in today's world. Morocco stands at the crossroads geographically and in all other ways as well, connecting Europe and the West with Africa and the Middle East. Therefore, Senator McClure's bill is timely as well as symbolic.

Sincerely,

Dick

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1985 SEP 24 AM 11: 36

September 23, 1985

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop, Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, Reserved Water, and
Resource Conservation
Room 308
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Wallop,

I am a specialist in North African history and have been engaged in a research project on Moroccan-American relations since 1971. I would like to have a statement of my views included in the record of the hearing on S. 1379. For the reasons stated below, I urge enactment of this legislation.

On December 20, 1777, Morocco became the first nation to recognize the independence of the infant United States of America. Recognition came in a letter written to all the foreign consuls in Morocco on behalf of Sidi Muhammad bin Abdallah, Morocco's sultan, by Mr. Webster Blount, the Dutch consul. In the letter, the sultan informed the consuls that he had instructed his naval vessels to respect American ships and that he recognized the Americans and other countries with which he did not then have treaties. I have detailed the events leading up to and following Morocco's historic recognition of the United States in an article published in Hespéris - Tamuda in 1982-3. The evidence I unearthed in the Dutch, French, and British archives, and which is cited in detail in this article, proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that Morocco was, indeed, the first country to recognize American independence. This occurred three months before France formalized its recognition of the U.S. by signing a treaty in February 1778.

Moroccan-American relations continued to develop in June 1786, when American envoy Thomas Barclay signed the Treaty of Marrakesh with Moroccan sultan Sidi Muhammad bin Abdullah. This treaty, many of whose provisions are still in force today, is the longest unbroken treaty that the United States has with any nation. It was also one of only a handful concluded before the adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1789.

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In addition to these historic contacts, Sidi Muhammad's successors continued to exhibit this friendship toward the new republic across the Atlantic. For example, the old American Legation in Tangiers, was the first piece of foreign property owned by the United States -- it was acquired as a gift from a series of Moroccan sultans beginning in the early 19th century.

Over the decades, Morocco has repeatedly shown itself to be a good friend of the United States. In view of the historic ties between our two countries, I was very pleased to hear that His Majesty King Hassan II wishes to commemorate the bicentennial of the ratification of this first Moroccan-American Treaty by erecting a monument in Washington. I can think of no more fitting gesture, and I hope that the Senate will graciously accept this testimony to the enduring friendship between the United States and its oldest friend in the family of nations.

Sincerely,

Jerome B. Bookin-Weiner,

Jerome B. Bookin-Weiner, PhD
Director

Joseph Verner Reed
Ambassador of the United States of America

October 25, 1985

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As the former American Ambassador to Morocco, I would like to state my views in support of S. 1379. I believe the proposed erection of a monument in Washington, D.C. would indeed serve well as tangible testimony to the close, friendly relations which have existed between the U.S. and Morocco for over 200 years.

Later in this decade we will celebrate the 200th anniversary of relations between our two countries, which commenced at the very beginning of our Republic. As American Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco from 1981 to 1985 I worked to strengthen this already warm relationship.

Almost two hundred years ago a Treaty of Peace and Friendship was concluded between our young nation and the Emperor of Morocco. This Treaty was ratified and proclaimed by President Washington on July 18, 1787. The basic provisions of the Treaty have remained in effect since then, making it the longest such relationship in United States history.

In addition to George Washington, others of our Founding Fathers were involved with this Treaty. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were empowered by Congress to negotiate it.

During my five-year tenure as Ambassador to Morocco I witnessed on many occasions the close cooperation between our nations in commercial, military and political matters. From this first-hand experience I can state with conviction that Morocco shares our commitment to basic democratic freedoms in its own society and government, and stands firmly allied with us in defending those freedoms around the world.

In recognition of this bicentennial milestone His Majesty Hassan II will be presenting as a gift to the American people a monument to U.S.-Moroccan peace and friendship. I believe this gracious gift should be accorded a site in Washington which will make millions of visitors to the Nation's Capital more aware of the relationship's historic and contemporary importance. Accordingly, I urge your Subcommittee's swift consideration and approval of S. 1379.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Malcolm Wallop
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public
Lands, Reserved Water and
Resource Conservation
United States Senate

*Joseph Verner Reed*
*Ambassador of the United States of America*

October 2, 1985

Dear Senator Wallop,

1987 will mark the 200th anniversary of the landmark Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States and the Kingdom of Morocco.

It is my understanding that in recognition of this milestone anniversary his Majesty King Hassan II is presenting to the American People a monument to U.S. -Moroccan "Peace and Friendship'. I know Senator James McClure was instrumental in introducing legislation (S. 1379) and I understand that hearings may be held.

I had the honor and privilege to serve our President from 1981 until June of this year as our nation's envoy to the Court of the Alaouites. Morocco is certainly one of Washington's friends and rather than my going into a lengthy disertation in this letter, I am enclosing an article that I wrote for the Greenwich Time which combines the importance of Morocco and of our relationship to that strategic friend. I would like to have this inserted in the official record. I would be pleased to testify at the hearings and stand ready by should I be called.

Cordially,

Joseph Verner Reed

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop

Greenwich Time
Greenwich, Connecticut, Wednesday, July 3, 1985
36 Pages, Two Sections

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# Kingdom of Morroco vital to U.S. interests

By Joseph Verner Reed

A Greenwich Time letter to the editor has posed questions relating to the article that was written by one of the newspaper's reporters, John S. Sweeney, on my work as our nation's envoy to the Kingdom of Morocco. In order to save a third person article, I am writing directly to elaborate on the questions posed.

The importance of Morocco:

Our long-standing relationship with Morocco — the first nation to recognize the American republic — is based today on a mutuality of strategic and economic interests, which arise from these shared values. For the United States, the benefits of this relationship are incalculable. They range from our joint use of Moroccan military bases and ports for exercises and unilateral use in case of need to the construction on Moroccan soil of the Voice of America's largest transmitting station. Honored as I was to be awarded the Order of the Throne, I was merely a symbol of the close relationship that has evolved since the early days of the Reagan administration.

In the first term of President Reagan, the United States created with Morocco a Joint Economic Commission, a Joint Military Commission, a Bi-National Cultural Commission, the Moroccan-American Foundation and signed many other accords. Progress was made to create a lasting dialogue, understanding and relationship between the two countries.

I believe that in dealing with Morocco, with which I have had close contact for more than 20 years, certain basic facts must be kept in mind, not the least is the fact that, on this matter, I am not impartial. A few questions . . .

Is Morocco's geographic location strategically vital? Along with the Straits of Hormuz, the entrance to the Red Sea, the Gates to the Mediterranean rank at the highest level in geopolitical terms.

Is Morocco (with King Hassan as chairman of the Jerusalem Committee) able to play an important role in our Middle East policy? Hassan is also chairman of the Arab League and president of the Islamic Conference, which represents a third of the world's population. Hassan is a high-wire, big tent political figure on the national, regional and international stage.

Is Morocco a moderate Arab country and probably more pro-Western than any other Arab country with the possible exception of Tunisia?

Does it allow the United States free movement for nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships in and out of its ports in the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic coast? What would be the consequences if one of the shores on the Straits of Gibralter fell into hostile hands, thereby making the Sixth Fleet a hostage in the Mediterranean and gravely jeopardizing our ability to assist our Italian, Turkish, Greek and Israeli allies. Suppose there was another Khadafi-type astride the Straits of Gibralter?

Morocco is a pro-Western monarchy with an opposition press, a tolerance of Jews, and no Soviet military presence. Would the Soviet Union like to expand its presence and influence to the shores and the straits into the Atlantic?

Having had more than two decades of association with Morocco, the last four serving as envoy to the Court of the Alaouites, I can say that due to this particular and special piece of world real estate the long term relationship between the United States and Morocco falls in the "vital" category. It is America's interests in this region that raises Morocco into the top 10. I believe that it is important that the American people know and understand this unique culture and the stakes involved in maintaining and nurturing the special relationship.

*Joseph Verner Reed, a Greenwich resident, is the former U.S. ambassador to Morocco.*